MAR 23 1931

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

Let Liberal Churches Stop Fooling Themselves!

By Reinhold Niebuhr

A Christian Newspaper
The Changing Family
Editorials

Power Control and Mind Control
By Paul Hutchinson

Fifteen Cents a Copy—Mar. 25, 1931 — Four Dollars a Year

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 25, 1931

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The Office Notebook

Our American complacency suffered another jolt when we read the item in the Christian World, of London, which reported the retirement of Sherwood Eddy from the Y. M. C. A. The item told us merely what we already knew—until we reached the closing sentence. That read: "Dr. Eddy has announced that he has become a socialist—a very startling development in American eyes."

What is there about the American atmosphere that makes it "a very startling development" to become a socialist? Certainly it isn't in England. Nor on the continent. Nor even in Japan, as witness Kagawa. But it is here, for the Christian World can point to columns of newspaper comment on Dr. Eddy's decision to justify its comment. Yet why should it be?

Or turn the question the other way round. Why should the mass of Christians be so comfortably content while remaining within the older parties? Their lack of either political or moral significance is generally admitted. The shortcomings of the social order they have fostered are becoming too clear to be overlooked. Yet when Dr. Eddy steps out, it's a sensational event. Why?

Our editorial force is hopelessly divided on the proper answer to this letter, received from Dr. Frederick W. Roman of Los Angeles: "The dispute has arisen in our office as to the plural of Christian Century. Suppose someone says, 'I sold ten Christian Centuries.' Would you spell it Centurys or Centuries? Will you kindly advise us which spelling is correct so as to settle the dispute in our office? Thank you."

Here is a serious problem, and one which should only be settled by those competent, from experience, to speak. Because of the divided vote in our editorial council, therefore, we have decided to inaugurate a contest among our subscribers. Which should it be—"rys" or "ies"? Only subscribers sending in ten subscriptions, it is obvious, will be eligible to vote. But we are willing to allow one vote for every ten subscriptions. Twenty subscriptions will give two votes. If you want to be sure that your choice wins, we suggest the wisdom of sending in a hundred subscriptions. Or, even better, two hundred.

Readers will remember our recent comment on the sale of the Chicago Evening Post. Just about such a fate as we feared has overtaken that paper. But it is a pleasure to be able to report that Mr. S. J. Duncan-Clark, whose editorial writing gave such distinction to the Post's editorial page, has been welcomed on the editorial page of the Chicago Daily News. The Daily News offers a horde of new readers to Mr. Duncan-Clark's incisive comment. It will not be long before they sense his presence behind the anonymity of the page.

Contributors to This Issue

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY
An Undenominational Journal of Religion

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EDITORIAL

CITIZENS who are interested in the relation of the moving picture industry to society and the state will read with care the resolution introduced into the senate by Senator C. C. Dill, of Washington. The full text of this resolution will be found in this issue of The Christian Century, beginning on page 418. What facts lie behind many of the questions concerning which Senator Dill makes specific inquiry, we have no means of knowing. There are conditions hinted at in this document which have never before been brought to the attention of this paper. But it should be obvious that any industry concerning which such questions can be asked is an industry much in need of being brought out into the light of day. And the responsible members of that industry should, in the face of such implied charges, be the first to demand the full and impartial investigation which Senator Dill has proposed. This resolution will come before the senate committee on interstate commerce immediately after the opening of the new congress. It is not too early for our readers to begin to request the members of that committee, whose names are given in connection with the document, to report it favorably to the senate.

Investigating The Movies

Death Calls for Ozora Davis

OZORA DAVIS had two years more of life than were promised him when the physicians told him that he had only six months to live, and he made them wonderful years, among the most fruitful and probably also among the happiest of his useful and happy life. Within those two years, after he had retired from the presidency of Chicago theological seminary so that the shadow of his passing might not fall upon the opening of the new administration, he served as moderator of the Congregational national council, wrote the life of an old friend who had been the seminary's greatest benefactor, taught homiletics, and preached. To sit down and wait with a long face for death was not his way of meeting the great adventure. He went on living, not without pain but with a continuance of the great joy that life and work and friendship always gave him. In one respect he did not think of death as an adventure at all, for he was so sure of the essential quality of what he would find on the other side of it that the risk seemed to him negligible. He was a great preacher and a great teacher of preachers. Few administrators are privileged to see such developments in their institutions as he saw in the seminary of which he was president for twenty years. One could wish that the word, radiant, were not applied so indiscriminately, so that one might hope to convey some sense of the extraordinarily contagious quality of his faith and cheer by saying that he was a radiant personality.

The Student Y's and the Ghost of Detroit

EVIDENTLY the iron of its Detroit experience has entered the soul of the student Y. M. C. A. At least, the student division of the national council of that body has produced a large folder, under the title "Student Y. M. C. A. and Race Relations," which makes some of the most thought-provoking reading to eminate from American religious sources in recent years. In this folder there is a long resumé of what actually happened at the now ill-famed student-faculty conference held in Detroit during the recent Christmas holidays. This resumé has been formulated by Mr. David R. Porter, the executive secretary of the student Y. There is a formulation of the reasons—11 on each side—which induced the delegates to vote as they did when the racial issue came to a focus. There is an extended attempt to analyze the variously conflicting points of view. With this is given the text of the minority statement, with its remarkable list of signatures. There is a quotation of the major portion of the editorial, "The Race Issue at Detroit," which appeared in The Christian Century for January 14. And the closing pages are filled with the record which the student associations, Y. M. and Y. W., have established on the race issue,

together with suggestions for future lines of advance toward equitable practices in this difficult field. We acknowledge a real stirring of heart in reading this document. It is so evidently the production of deeply sincere persons, who are growing aware that something tragic really happened at Detroit, and who are desperately concerned to make up the ground lost as quickly as possible. That ground will not be made up easily or over night. Defeat is defeat, and exacts its toll. But such a statement as this shows that, even though defeat may be the portion of inexperienced warriors, the student associations have no idea of giving up the war. They are out to produce a social situation in which their practice may square with their ideals. And the honesty of this study is the best promise that eventually they will succeed.

Progressives Confer In Washington

THE conference of progressives, which opened in Washington on March 11, was more significant as a milestone on the way to the development of a class-conscious radical group than for any particular act or resolution of the conference. The only suggestions of the organization of a third party came from the outside, and these were sternly repudiated by the conference. But the progressives are more than ever aware that they will hold the balance of power in the next congress, and the ties which bind them to the parties to which they severally own allegiance are weaker than they were. In its declarations regarding the dangers of "unregulated wealth," the power trust, the tariff, the use of money in primary elections and the need of revision of the immigration and espionage laws, the conference was vigorous and outspoken. In its criticism of the administration for failure to meet the demands of the economic crisis, it was firm but courteous. But when it came to specific plans for meeting the financial situation, and especially for rescuing agriculture from its present pitiable plight, it gave forth a more uncertain sound. The progressives are not to be blamed for not knowing what ought to be done for the farmer. Nobody knows. That is not only serious for the farmer; it is also serious for any concerted liberal movement, a great part of the support for which must necessarily be drawn from the agrarian states. Without some promising plan for the relief of the farmer, the farmer is not going to throw up his hat for liberalism in general.

Mr. Tydings Is Right!

WE had never expected to agree with the senator from Maryland, Mr. Millard E. Tydings, on any subject pertaining to prohibition. But when Mr. Tydings contends that there is something wrong with the Volstead law at the point where that statute permits the making of highly intoxicating wine in the home, Mr. Tydings is right. Mr. Tydings may have had his own reasons for drawing this situation to the attention of the senate during the closing hours of the recent congress. With those reasons we are not now concerned. We are concerned with the situation as it stands. So was the Wickersham commission. That body said, in words that should have attracted more attention than they have:

> Why home wine-making should be lawful while home-brewing of beer and home-distilling of spirits are not, why home wine-making for home use is less reprehensible than making the same wine outside the home for home use, and why it should be penal to make wine commercially for use in homes and not penal to make in huge quantities the materials for wine-making and set up an elaborate selling campaign for disposing of them, is not apparent.

But there is one element in this situation which the Wickersham commission did not mention, yet which adds to the illogical and hypocritical nature of the whole business. Not only does the Volstead law, as now framed, leave a gap for this home wine-making, but the United States government, through the federal farm board, has actually loaned the grape growers of California $20,000,000 to encourage them in building up this industry! If anyone has the slightest question as to the intent of this grape growing business a reading of the advertisements which fill the metropolitan press will dispel all doubt. Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, who is one of the counsel for the California grape growers, is quite correct in maintaining that the business, as the law now stands, is legal. It is also a slippery attempt to evade the purpose of the 18th amendment; an attempt which the United States government has no business to be financing; and an attempt which should be ended by amendment of the Volstead act.

Chicago's Religious Drama Tournament

FOUR HUNDRED young people of Chicago have been working all winter in the second annual religious drama tournament sponsored by the council of religious education of Chicago's federation of churches. Their efforts culminated in the production of about forty religious dramas during late February and early March. The three groups whose work in the opinion of the judges showed the greatest distinction in group training, production standards, costuming and acting, presented their plays at the Goodman theater in a religious drama festival on March 9. Certain features of this tournament merit the attention of the church at large. It enlisted these hundreds of young people in an enterprise which was at once religious, educational, and artistic. It called upon their imaginations and their creative talents. They had to learn what it means to put themselves in other persons' places and to look out upon the world from other persons' backgrounds. That is the underlying principle of the golden rule. Further, they had to work together as a group unit—so they learned something about cooperation. Again, they had so to harmonize their acting and their back-stage

efforts that the result would be a work of sufficient power to move an audience with a convincing sense of unity, sincerity, and reality. Finally, they had to think of themselves not as individuals merely, but as fellow-bearers of the message of the plays. (Incidentally, they had to make their work entirely self-supporting.) Here is religious education of the first order.

The Pot and the Kettle

IF the subject were not so serious there would be something ludicrous in Chicago's abounding joy over the scandals now being dragged into the light in New York. Mayor "Jimmy" Walker may admit that he has been "more or less shocked" by the things that have happened recently in his municipality. But "Big Bill" Thompson and his cohorts have not been shocked; they have been tickled to death. The corridors of Chicago's city hall have echoed with their glee. Even the press has not been able to resist the opportunity to shout "you're another" at the eastern metropolis. No one contends that Chicago's own situation is any better than it has been during the years while its unenviable reputation was being formed. In fact, there are indications that it is worse. At the present moment, for example, its decent citizens are being forced to support for mayor the former champion of the liquor traffic, not because they want him, but because he is the only alternative to four years more of Thompson. Yet Chicago rejoices to discover that it is not the only sinner among cities; that the judiciary, the police and the political machines of another municipality are just as venal; that democracy is being made a laughingstock in other places. The chances are that after Chicago has taken its fill of chortling over the disgrace of New York, something will happen in Mr. Vare's town that will enable the two to combine in ribaldry at the expense of Philadelphia. That, at least, seems to be the characteristic response of citizenship to misgovernment and corruption. Meanwhile, local government in a majority of our large cities falls more and more into disrepute.

All Priests Are Not Vatican Citizens

AFTER considerable urging, The Christian Century has got an answer to the question which it propounded to "the enlightened Roman Catholic press" touching the implications of a press report that the vatican had denied the diplomatic jurisdiction of the Italian government in the case of two Italian priests who had been killed in China. On the face of the report, the implication was that all priests, or at least all missioners, were citizens of Vatican City state, for all practical purposes. The Christian Century had doubts as to the accuracy of the report and called upon such papers as Commonweal and America to find out the facts. Commonweal, in its issue of March 18, reports the results of its investigation. On the authority of Rev. John J. Considine, "who is connected with the Fides service in Vatican City, a news organization which collects and distributes information from the worldwide Catholic mission field," and who consulted both the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and the papal secretaries of state, it is asserted that no protest was made, officially or unofficially, against any act of Italy in regard to the death of her two citizens. In a somewhat similar case earlier, "when there was talk of demanding an indemnity from the Chinese, ecclesiastical authorities warned that the practice was a poor one, would cause an unfortunate repercussion among the Chinese, and advised against it." But not even that happened in this case, according to Father Considine. The laws of Vatican City define citizenship in that state very clearly. The only non-residents who are citizens are cardinals who live in Rome. Missioners do not carry Vatican passports, except apostolic delegates in mission lands. This seems to cover the case very satisfactorily. But The Christian Century, being insatiably avid for information, would still like further light on two points: What has the news agency which gave original currency to the report to say for itself by way of explaining the error? And why does the Roman Catholic press manifest such obvious resentment toward a paper which withholds comment upon a news story which is important if true but not wholly convincing and which asks the Roman Catholic papers to find and report the facts?

When a Snowstorm Is a Godsend

OVER the weekend of March 7 Chicago, and a large portion of the middle west, experienced its first heavy snowfall of the winter. In the rural sections this fall was greeted with joy, ending as it did a long period of drought and bringing promise of rescue to winter crops. But in the cities it was treated as though it was a special and almost miraculous manifestation of divine favor. In Chicago, for example, every newspaper dilated at length on the relief thus brought to the unemployment situation. Most of the papers used cartoons, and some of them editorials, to emphasize the importance of this economic improvement. What were the facts? A small army of men, perhaps 20,000 in size at its maximum and shrinking to less than 4,000 in three days, was required for snow-shoveling purposes. Men stood in line in the storm from 3 o'clock in the morning in the effort to get these jobs; within a few minutes after the employment agencies had opened they had hired all the men they could use and had to lock their doors again. Thousands of citizens who did not stop to think of all that was involved spoke in a congratulatory manner to one another of what a godsend the snow had been to the unemployed. But what is to be said of a social and economic order in which the

meager pay for two or three days of snow shoveling, falling into the hands of 20,000 hungry men, is of enough importance as relief to justify hosannas in the press? And what can be said of that same order when at the same time—with nearly 200,000 men in such a city not even getting snow shoveling jobs—government agencies announce that, in desperation, they are about to dump millions of bushels of wheat on foreign markets?

A Christian Newspaper

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have read with intense interest your editorial on "The Vanishing Dry Press." I have long felt that the daily press has come to be more powerful as an agency for adult education and the formation of public opinion than all the Protestant churches combined. But is it not true that the press is not only becoming increasingly wet, but also increasingly non-Christian, and non-ethical in its political and social propaganda? Would it not be vastly better if Protestantism should curtail its expenditures for churches and establish a great national daily as a spokesman for the Christianized intelligence and conscience of this nation?

You made a strong presentation of the situation. But you did not go on to suggest a constructive plan for remedying the evil. Along this line I wish to make a suggestion: A campaign looking to the establishing of a great national Christian daily, centrally located in the United States, probably in Chicago. The national and world news and editorials to be printed in Chicago and syndicated by wire to branch offices in other sections of the the country, such as New York, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Denver, Los Angeles and Portland. Local news to be prepared and local advertising in each local office. Thus every day the entire country could be served with a great press devoted to the propagation of the Christian principles in their application to every realm of society. Why not promote a great campaign with this objective in view, soliciting the approval and cooperation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and every Protestant denomination? If by a campaign of education the Christian laity of our land can be made to realize the possibilities of such a project there will be plenty of money available for its realization. Every Protestant church in the United States could be canvassed for subscribers. Perhaps you have already pondered this side of the problem. But in any case will you please give us your opinion concerning it.

Ripley, N. Y. WILLIAM S. DOUDS.

MR. DOUDS' letter is typical of many. Not a month passes without the receipt of this suggestion from some source, and frequently from many sources. Evidently a considerable portion of the Protestant public is attracted by the proposal to establish a Christian daily newspaper in the United States. Nor is it hard to understand why this suggestion exerts such a fascination. Four causes, at least, are constantly at work to increase the dissatisfaction of large numbers of Protestants with the daily press as it now is.

In the first place, these citizens are convinced that the press is doing all it can to mislead the public as to the present state of prohibition with a view to the eventual repeal of the 18th amendment. There are exceptions to this, but the majority weight of the metropolitan press is in general so heavily on the wet side that these believers in prohibition have concluded that a wholly different sort of newspaper is needed if the dry case is to have a fair representation. Without exception those who write favoring the establishment of a Christian newspaper take it for granted that such a newspaper would be active in its championship of prohibition.

In the second place, these citizens are disturbed at the effect on public opinion of that important part of the press which opposes American participation in international affairs. The violence of the opposition to American adherence to the world court, or cooperation with the League of Nations, or naval disarmament and reduction, or a score of similar matters—involving, as it frequently has, a deliberate attempt to excite fear of friendly nations—has contributed to this demand for a Christian daily. Again, without exception those voicing the demand regard it as certain that such a daily would give aggressive support to all attempts to increase international cooperation.

In the third place, these citizens view with mounting alarm the anti-social influence of a large portion of the press. The competition in sensationalism, which contributes to a desire for hectic pleasures, when it does not go beyond that to point the way toward vice and crime, seems to some observers so inimical to the future stability of society that some active counter-agency in the same field is required. The Christian daily is conceived, therefore, as a defense against the encroachments of lower standards of ethics, morals and culture.

Fed from these sources of dissatisfaction, the proposal for the establishment of a Christian daily newspaper gains strength. It has been discussed in many ministerial meetings. It has been approved by several denominational gatherings and by a few state interdenominational conventions. It has been seriously considered by small groups of church and business leaders. There has been at least one essay in this direction which reached the point of producing a sample paper. If the course of the daily press continues without modification it is safe to predict that there will be an increase of the agitation, and probably a genuine attempt to launch such a paper as the agitators have in mind.

It is to be doubted, however, whether those who call for the founding of a Christian daily have taken all the factors involved into account. There is, for example, the inescapable factor of expense. Not to consider any such ambitious plan as Mr. Douds suggests, which would involve enormous costs, it is still unlikely that the lay public has any adequate idea of the outlay involved in the production of a modern city daily. But it should be noted that the testimony during the recent legal proceedings in connection with the sale of the New York World showed that the three newspapers issued under that name (morning, evening and Sunday) although having a circulation of about 350,000 and the prestige of a singularly famous career were losing at the rate of almost $2,000,000 a year. When it is considered that the sort

of paper suggested would stress its international news—the most expensive, because of cable and radio charges, that is gathered—it is safe to say that no such paper would have a chance for survival unless it had a fund of from ten to fifteen million dollars in hand, and that experience might easily prove the need for twice or three times that amount.

Another difficulty, and one which would prove harder to solve, would be the recruiting of an adequate staff. The men and women who have been trained in the practices of daily journalism as it now is simply would not prove capable of producing the sort of paper demanded. They might approve the attempt; they might give themselves with all good will to participation in it. But at the fundamental point of distinguishing between what is and what is not news, these products of the old order would be incapable of moving into the new. The Christian Science Monitor has proved this, in the years of its experience, up to the hilt, with the result that the Monitor today finds it necessary to pick most of its future writers before they have been warped by general journalistic practice and to train them itself.

Most of all, however, the proposal for the establishment of a Christian daily newspaper needs careful examination from the standpoint of its basic assumption. What is meant by a Christian daily? What would make a newspaper Christian? What unchristian? There will be no agreement among Protestants, for example, as to whether a Christian daily should support public ownership of utilities, or censorship of the theater, or child labor laws, or unemployment insurance. And if its management, proceeding on the assumption that it *was* a Christian daily, should throw its weight behind these causes there would be resentment in many parts of the church. As a matter of fact, when the proposal is analyzed is it not clear that what is meant is simply, under another form of words, a *good* newspaper? Of course, a journal that aspires simply to be a good newspaper may take what positions it pleases without becoming involved in inter-ecclesiastical disputes.

But if what these public-spirited citizens are really after is a good newspaper, does not the remedy for the present situation lie within the field of journalism itself, rather than in the hands of the church? Cannot the end that these citizens seek be achieved more surely by the men who are already responsible for newspaper policy than by trying to introduce a new element into the problem? There are plenty of newspaper proprietors in the United States who have a full sense of their social responsibility. The papers which they direct may not be the most conspicuous journals of our great cities, but banded together they can exert an immense influence on the nation and on their communities. So far, however, no attempt has been made to band together publishers of this type. That attempt would seem to be the next and most promising step in the effort to secure a press with higher ideals of social responsibility.

It has already been pointed out in these columns that the major cause of the evil effects produced on society by the press as it now is is not in editorial comment, but in news distortion. And this distortion occurs at the source, which is generally beyond the control of the single newspaper proprietor. No matter what the proprietor may desire in the way of dependable reporting, the news columns of his paper must carry the material that the wires bring in from the outside world.

Hundreds of American newspaper publishers are as aware of this condition, and as unhappy over it, as the citizens who are calling for the establishment of a new sort of newspaper. They would, we are convinced, be eager to do something about it if they knew what to do. We therefore venture the hope that a group of such proprietors may constitute themselves a committee to call a general conference of publishers. Let such a conference be held; let there be a large attendance; let the attendants pledge themselves to new efforts to secure accurate and fair reporting in their own papers; let them unitedly demand unbiased reporting from the great news agencies, and the effect on American daily journalism will be apparent within a year. But until the newspaper publishers have proved themselves to be indifferent to present public dissatisfaction or unwilling to attempt the reform of their own business the proposal for the establishment of a Christian daily should be regarded as premature.

The Changing Family

BELIEVE it or not, and like it or not, a change is coming over the Christian mind with reference to some aspects of the marriage relation and family life. It is no news that such change has been under way in the secular mind for a long while, but that it is also making progress among the devout and god-fearing comes as near to being news as anything can which, by its very nature, is an event of gradual occurrence. Birth control and divorce are the two hot spots of controversy in this field, and on both of them there is a visible shifting of opinion.

Back of these lies the more general and less controversial question of the economic status of woman and her right to an independent status in the world of affairs, whether married or not. Upon this, opinion has already very largely shifted, and this shift has had much to do with bringing the other two into so much prominence and giving them such urgency in the minds of many who find in unwanted children and uncongenial marriages impediments to the enjoyment of that independent status. Other influences are also operative in the same direction, but this is perhaps the most important one.

For those who have any adequate appreciation of the values of that body of spiritual and social tradition which make up what we call "Christian civilization," it is unthinkable that the family should ever cease to be the most precious as well as the most in-

timate of the groupings by which humanity is organized into society. But it is an open question whether the family can continue to be the same kind of social unit when it becomes—as it has in large measure already become—a different kind of economic and cultural unit. In earlier days, the family was the economic unit—the patriarchal family, indeed, made up of three or four generations with their ramifying branches held together by subordination to a common head, the oldest surviving ancestor; and doubtless it seemed a sad disintegration of the family when young married people began to declare their independence and the patriarchal group split up into two-generation families.

Then for many centuries this smaller family was a unit for all activities in which the earning of a living was concerned. The center of authority within that group and its point of contact with the outside world was the father, but all its members cooperated in the common enterprise of securing the means of subsistence. While Adam delved, Eve span, each for both, and the right of parents to command the services of their minor children was no empty formality. Children were not only arrows in the quiver; they were hands on the farm, helpers in the kitchen, or apprentices in the shop.

It would be superfluous to comment upon the disappearance of these aspects of the family life of our ancestors or to recount the facts of economic and industrial history which have made that disappearance inevitable. More significant, for our present purposes, is the fact that in increasing numbers the young women of the present day, whose ideals and ambitions will determine the marriage mores of the very near future, are committed to a philosophy of life which has no place in it for that older type of economic family unit.

The idle rich have no idea of carrying on even the simplest household industries or doing any of the things that women did as their part of providing for the household's needs; they are quite frankly spenders. The absence of responsibilities inevitably makes the marriage bond more fragile—always assuming that some other parasitic arrangement for support can be made, either by alimony or by capturing another provider.

The industrious poor find that they not only must work to help support the family but must go outside of the family to find that work; the family is not a self-supporting group, but a number of self-supporting individuals to whom (but especially to the women) children are an impediment as well as an expense and any one of whom can easily secede from the family without incurring economic disaster.

The younger intellectuals are ambitious for the development and expression of their own personalities by independent activity in a business or profession. Marriage for them is neither an economic nor a social necessity. They expect to be able to earn their own way in the world, they demand the opportunity to make their own lives satisfying, and they look with favor on marriage only on condition that the conditions under which the married life is lived make possible the realization of these expectations.

The matrimonial escapades of the idle rich get the most publicity, but they are perhaps the least significant feature of the total picture, though even their case cannot be reasonably judged without remembering that they are affected by the change which has taken nearly all economic functions out of the home. The most significant feature is that which has to do with the attitudes of intelligent and ambitious youth.

In preparation for a report which is to be made by a committee of the Presbyterian general assembly on the general subject of the home, Mrs. Charles K. Roys, dean of Wells college and a member of the committee, has conducted an investigation into the minds of a considerable number of women students. The results are about as might have been predicted. These girls, from American homes of the better class and themselves young people of high intelligence, good training and serious purposes, have no foolish prejudices against marriage and no fantastic ideas about the radical reconstruction of that institution; but marriage for most of them means a mode of life which shall not be incompatible with the pursuit of a career, the earning of a living, and in general the exercise of the duties and rights which pertain to a free and adult human being in the present age. A summary of the findings states that they are by no means disposed to adopt any course which would be contrary to the "ideals of Jesus"; but their thinking about marriage is evidently dominated by their conception of the worth of their own personalities and the economic and social conditions under which their lives are to be lived, and not by any considerations of exegesis or authority.

The Federal council's committee on marriage and the home has just issued a report which is published with the approval of the administrative committee of the council. The report deals exclusively with the question of birth control, but the method employed in the study of this question is equally applicable to other aspects of the committee's field. Though not to be considered as an official Protestant reply to the recent papal encyclical on this subject, it expresses a diametrically opposite view and—what is equally important—is based upon a diametrically opposite method of approach.

As the pope sees it, God has given a law, of which the church—and ultimately the pope—is the authorized interpreter and expounder. By that law birth control by any "artificial" means is forbidden. If the law works hardship upon individuals, it is too bad, but there is nothing that can be done about it. But there are compensations; it is, in fact, a good law. Abstinence is more pleasing to God and more beneficial to man than indulgence, and sweet spiritual blessings may be distilled by the obedient from the bitter wormwood of physical misfortune and deprivation. The evidence that it is a good law is purely theological; the testimony of sociologists, physicians and psycholo-

gists is ruled out as irrelevant, incompetent and immaterial, unless they happen to confirm the law. And anyway, the law is the law and the church is the judge and the jury as well as all the witnesses. The same applies to divorce.

As the Federal council's committee sees it, too many or too frequent children are a calamity, as proved by the facts of both common experience and scientific observation. Abstinence is an inadequate remedy, first because it will not be practiced where a remedy is most needed, and second because quite generally it ought not to be. A solution for the problem must be sought under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, but "it should be expected that guidance will find expression through the researches and experience of physicians and men of science as well as through the corporate conscience of the church." Science has, in fact, produced some fairly dependable results in this field, and Christian people are entitled to make use of them if and when they believe that the conditions justify it.

Two points especially differentiate the two views. The one which has to do with method has already been mentioned. The other is concerned with the opposite judgments as to the virtue and desirability of abstinence for the married. The pope would persuade his flock that it is a good thing, well pleasing to God and a source of spiritual enrichment to those who practice it. The committee holds to the other opinion.

There is a difference also in the part which the two spokesmen for the church would have the state play in this matter. The pope holds that it is proper in this field—though not in that of promoting temperance in regard to alcohol—for the state to fortify the demands of Christian morality by appropriate legislation; thus the Roman Catholic authorities are unanimous in approving the present laws against the dissemination of contraceptive information. The Protestant committee declares that the church should not seek restrictive or prohibitory legislation regarding birth control information. This apparent change of face on both sides is easily accounted for by the fact that each in reality favors legislative aid for the maintenance of what it considers to be the requirements of good morality.

The bearing of the practice of birth control upon extra-marital relations is obvious. The committee reckons with this, but is of the opinion that sex morality must rest upon a sounder foundation than ignorance. It is monstrous to consider the birth of children as a threat for the intimidation of those who lack self-control.

It should be noted that this committee's report, even though it was signed by more than three-fourths of the 28 members and approved by the administrative committee, is not in any proper sense an authoritative expression of Protestant opinion. The members of both of these committees of the Federal council understand very well that they have not been commissioned to speak for all the churches on this matter. Their report is not the voice of Protestantism but a voice *to* Protestantism through the persons of a distinguished company whose opinions carry much prestige but no authority. Nevertheless, that such a company should sound this note is clear enough evidence of the initial proposition that a change is coming over the Christian mind with reference to certain aspects of the marriage relation and family life.

VERSE

Ecce Signum

WHERE'ER the Master trod
He journeyed to the cross;
The more he gave of God,
The greater was his loss.

He filled the world with light,
With hope the soul that grieves;
To him was given night,
And death between two thieves.

CHARLES G. BLANDEN.

Faith

WHY must I say that God is Christ,
Or Jesus God in human guise,
When I can say He has sufficed
To bring the light to blinded eyes?

I do not care to speculate
On things mysterious to the mind.
But O the rapture, early, late,
Of light to eyes that once were blind!

E. MCNEILL POTEAT, JR.

"March!"

"MARCH!" is the crisp and curt command
The calendar gives to the armies of Spring
In the training camps in the far south land
Where they have been drilling and marshaling—
Birds all poised on eager wing,
Warm winds drenched with rain and sun,
And every leafy and twining thing
Ready to start and move as one.

And the buds of the lilac under the bark
Wait for the signal there in the dark.

The robin scout goes far ahead
To spy out the enemy's land and sing
A note of defiance. The osier's red
Is a flag of revolt in the name of Spring.
But discipline fails as the armies fling
Into action with joy in the glorious fray,
And soon they are dancing and rioting
In the wild abandon of April and May.

For ever invading Spring's advance
Begins in a March but ends in a dance.

WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON.

Let Liberal Churches Stop Fooling Themselves!

By Reinhold Niebuhr

RECENTLY a well known liberal clergyman returned from Europe and reported that he was highly gratified to find so many evidences of conciliation in Europe's political and religious life. He gave it as his opinion that the continent was slowly but surely approaching the longed for goal of harmony and peace. It so happens that the Europe about which this optimistic judgment was made is, in many respects, in a more perilous position than it was in 1914. France and Italy keep watch over each other with shrewd and narrow eyes. Poland maintains an unbearable military autocracy because she fears both Russia and Germany. The Germans express themselves with increasingly unrestrained resentment against the Polish depredations upon German minorities. Worst of all, the growing anger of the German people over the economic slavery to which the treaty of Versailles condemns them, voiced particularly in the Hitler movement, threatens not only the parliamentary government of Germany but the whole peace of Europe. There is no real health and there are only a few signs of convalescence in the body politic of continental Europe. But liberal religion has a dogma and it views the contemporary world through the eyes of this dogma. The dogma is all the more potent in coloring opinion because it is not known as a dogma. The dogma is that the world is gradually growing better and that the inevitability of gradualness guarantees our salvation.

Unreal Optimism

The liberal church has held to this dogma ever since John Fiske and his school made the doctrine of evolution acceptable to the religious mind and heart. The moral obfuscation which has resulted from this ethical interpretation of the doctrine of evolution is difficult to measure. It has given a note of romantic and unreal optimism to the preaching of the liberal church and has prevented it from making any realistic estimate of the moral problems of our day.

The real fact about our civilization is that it is flirting with disaster. There is as yet no proof that we have the social imagination to bring the economic intricacies of our common life under the control of reason and conscience. Europe, faced with the anarchy of tariff barriers, knows that some kind of economic reciprocity must be developed, but lacks the moral energy and good will to overcome her confusion. America insists on large debt payments from Europe but refuses to accept Europe's goods. All of the western nations are anxious to sell Russia the machinery which she needs, but arouse warlike passions when Russia tries to pay for the machinery with her raw products. We conduct our international relations, in other words, with a social imagination hardly worthy of primitive savages.

In our domestic affairs we show only a slightly higher virtue. The whole western world suffers from a period of depression, the chief cause of which is obviously the inability of the average man to buy the products which modern technology is producing in larger and larger quantities. Yet England and Germany both propose to emerge from the depression by cutting wages ten per cent and our own captains of industry are following the same policy in ever increasing numbers. The one problem alone of inserting the new power of an industrialized Russia into the economic life of the modern world without a complete disruption of equilibrium is enough to bring disaster to us in the next decades. It is a problem which could be solved with a measure of social intelligence and good will but neither seem available.

Irresponsible City Dwellers

If modern civilization faces disaster in its international life because it cannot bring its intricate economic relations under social control we face moral confusion in our urban life because an impersonal megalopolitan life has robbed men of whatever shreds of social responsibility they once had. The good people of our large cities are depersonalized specialists who flee from the filth of the city to their suburban homes or find a similar asylum from its pressing problems in the fastness of their apartment houses. At the same time the city is governed by gangs of racketeers whose methods of earning a living differ in degree rather than in kind from the predatory attitude taken by respectable business toward society as such. Between the good citizens who do not care and the good citizens who profit indirectly from racketeering and the good citizens whose own attitude toward life does not differ sufficiently from that of the racketeer to allow for an honest resentment against him, we have come to a pretty pass in our whole urban problem.

Meanwhile the church lives in a comfortable world. It sees the sorry state of our civilization and yet it does not see. We can see only what our dogmas and preconceptions permit us to see. Perhaps it ought to be added that the very dogma of optimism which blinds its eyes is the creation of a privileged and comfortable world rather than the illusion of any particular thinker. The liberal church would be romantic and optimistic even if there had never been a Herbert Spencer or a John Fiske. Its optimism is really the optimism of the middle classes who rose to power in the 19th century and who naturally interpreted the whole course of history in terms consonant with their own good fortune.

One need not be an economic determinist to realize that the fortunes of economic and national groups color their historical and religious viewpoints and that particular thinkers and thought-forms are not so much the cause of these prejudices as the material with which they clothe themselves in intellectually respectable forms. The man who has employment will hardly regard the facts of contemporary life as tragically as the man who is out of a job. It is significant that the industrial workers of Europe divorced themselves from middle class 19th century optimism long before the world war had revealed it as an illusion to the other classes. They displaced it with the Marxian catastrophic conception of history. According to this conception the immediate future of modern man will grow worse before it will grow better. Only through catastrophe will he be able to enter the paradise of his dreams.

The Pessimism of the Underprivileged

A pessimistic determinism may not be any closer to the facts than an optimistic determinism and the remnant of optimism with which the Marxian saves himself may also be illusion. If another world war came upon us at the present juncture it is very questionable whether we would have the sense to use the occasion for the purpose of building a new world. Very probably new types of fascism would arise out of it, rather than a new cooperative world. The fact is that both pessimistic and optimistic determinisms are dangerous to the moral life.

Perhaps most dangerous of all is the pessimism which is sweeping the religious life of Europe and is robbing many of its sensitive spirits of the last shred of ambition to save their world from collapse. For the Barthians the world is too evil to be saved and all moral striving is, though necessary, futile. Salvation lies completely outside of the field of social responsibility; and less or more decency in human relations is irrelevant to the business of redemption. The Barthians make a much more realistic analysis of the moral facts of modern civilization than do the liberal Christians from whom they have dissociated themselves. They consign the world of history to the devil. They are done with the illusions of the middle class world. But one may be pardoned for suspecting that they are complete pessimists partly because they represent that part of the middle class world which has discovered the hypocrisy of its moral pretensions and the unsoundness of its moral life but which is not willing to take the heroic measures which are necessary to save modern civilization.

Barthian Shortcoming

I do not accuse Barthians of either conscious dishonesty or cowardice. I suggest only that their complete pessimism would be more convincing if it were accompanied by strenuous efforts to meet the most urgent moral problems which modern man faces. Without such an effort one has the right to suspect that human nature has played a sorry trick upon them. They find the difficult impossible; and they invoke divine revelation to prove what is altogether too convenient to believe. Not until the Barthians dissociate themselves much more from the middle class world than they have done and make their gospel mean something to those classes which suffer most from the moral limitations of our present society will they have a religious message which will offer spiritual direction to our generation.

The fact is that no one who looks at the facts of contemporary society from any high or even decent moral perspective can be an optimist and no one who tries to meet its moral problem can be a complete pessimist. Moral energy creates its own optimism. The gospel is certainly not optimistic in regard to the world. Jesus had none of the evolutionary optimism which is the chief characteristic of modern liberal Protestantism. He did not see God in the processes of nature, working inevitably toward a glorious consummation. But he did believe that God would bring ultimate victory. It is to this theistic root of optimism to which modern liberalism appeals, but it does so prematurely.

A real faith in God must arise out of conflict with the world, otherwise it is the world and not God in whom one reposes confidence. The ethical struggle demands a sharp antithesis between the real and the ideal. It is not easy to maintain this antithesis without losing confidence in the possibility of realizing the ideal, or to restore that confidence without effacing the distinction between the two. In fact, this task is so difficult that it can never be done in terms of pure reason. The purely rational approach betrays us either into pessimism or optimism.

The Diabolical Aspects of Life

It is the genius of morally vital religion that it is not too consistent in regard to this problem. It has an ideal for which the forces of nature and history offer only the slightest opportunity of triumph, yet those who give themselves to it with complete abandon never lose confidence that it can be realized. That is the foolishness of religion which has the root of wisdom in it. Only those who submit completely to the will of God know how potent that will is and are able to interpret the future in its terms. The mistake of the liberal church lies in its identification of an easy evolutionary optimism with the desperate and heroic optimism which can arise out of and be justified by only a heroic defiance of the forces of nature which so largely control the life of human society.

The romanticism of the liberal church is revealed not only in its view of history but in its estimate of man. It holds, on the whole, to a Rousseau-istic view of human virtue. It has made an easy identification of this view with the Christian estimate of man as the child of God. The result is that it fails to understand the diabolical aspects of human life, particularly those aspects which are revealed when the selfishness and greed of individuals are compounded and express themselves in the predatory group. The fact is that

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all large economic and political groups are much more predatory than they are social in their dominant passions. That is what gives modern society its great moral problem. The ever increasing capacity for social cohesion and cooperation increases rather than decreases the conflict of selfish interests. If that fact is not clearly discerned there is no possibility of dealing realistically with our total moral problem.

Destroying Illusions

Man is neither totally depraved nor naturally virtuous. He is a creature of impulses which are in themselves neither good nor evil but which tend to become more and more evil as they express themselves through instruments which increase their force and in a society which constantly enlarges the potential evil which resides in them. In our kind of a world the expansive desires of man need constantly more inner and social restraint if they are to be prevented from reducing society to anarchy. The liberal church is easily fooled by the little amenities which have always veiled the nakedness of the lust for power. It is fooled as well by the superficial harmony of interests which society creates by subjecting the interests of one portion of the population to the interests of another. Any contemporary view of any society reveals a kind of peace; but it is a peace without justice and the battle is bound to be reopened. When it is reopened those who have taken a superficial view of the situation are inevitably betrayed into a position of hostility toward those who disturb the peace rather than toward those who would like to perpetuate privilege by the perpetuation of peace.

One could hardly expect that the church would ever become sufficiently potent to persuade those who hold unequal privilege and power to divest themselves of it voluntarily in any large numbers. But if it dealt realistically with the facts of human nature it could create an atmosphere in which the eternal social struggle could become a series of tensions rather than open conflict. It could do this merely by helping people to see themselves as they really are, by destroying their illusions about themselves, by puncturing their nice self-deceptions. The church would not even need to be iconoclastic to accomplish this task. It would need only to make the insights of the gospel available, and in performing this task it could avail itself of the unmistakable evidence of modern psychological and economic sciences. Religion is very easily used to obscure rather than to reveal the primitive forces which control so much of human action. Religion, without a constantly replenished force of penitence, easily becomes a romance which brutal men use to hide the real sources of their actions from themselves and from others.

That is why romantic religion is dangerous and that is why liberal religion is not now an effective agent of moral redemption in our contemporary society. Premature confidence in human virtue is on the same level with premature confidence in human history. In fact, they come to one and the same thing. Man is nature and yet the child of God. History is nature and yet the dominion of God's will. But the nature in man and in history is the stuff with which moral purpose in man and in God must work. It is the business of true religion to preach repentance without reducing man to despair and to preach hope without tempting him to complacency. That double purpose can best be accomplished by a rigorous analysis which shows the sharp distinction between the real and the ideal and by vigorous action which reveals the potency and the potentialities of the moral will.

Realities in Race Relations

By B. E. Mays

PERHAPS nothing has blocked the path that leads to genuine interracial adjustment as much as the erroneous belief, "I know the Negro," and the one equally false, "I know the white man." Though living side by side, the Negroes and whites have moved almost exclusively in two distinct worlds, which has, in the very nature of things, made wholesome understanding almost wholly impossible. On the one hand, we have had, and in the main have now, an "inherently superior" race looking condescendingly and patronizingly upon an "inherently inferior" race. On the other hand, we have had, and on the whole still have, an "inherently inferior" people gazing distrustfully and in awe upon an "inherently superior" people. To bridge this chasm is the supreme task of interracialism.

There was a time, and still is, when Negroes and white people met together not to think and plan cooperatively concerning a given project but rather to have the will of the stronger imposed upon the weaker. The meeting would often end in a "mutual admiration society" in which each group would tell of its great love for the other. The real facts were rarely faced. The Negro was not encouraged to be frank. In case he should be unwise and openly express his views, straightway he became a marked man—not only by white people but by Negroes as well. As long as this condition prevails, the Negro, unfortunately, will almost invariably say what he thinks the white people want him to say or he will keep silence.

The Need for Sincerity

There is a growing tendency, however, on the part of a growing number of people, white and Negro, to

deplore any situation that does not lend itself to sincerity, to honesty of expression. It is possible now to sit in a few interracial gatherings and find a group of people actually facing reality. They no longer hypocritically compliment each other. A few are dedicated to the principle that nothing permanent can be built on lies and deception. The Negroes who have insight and courage to state sanely and fearlessly what they believe are not invariably branded now as "radicals." Equally encouraging is it to note that the white people who practice fairness toward colored people and who do not want to paternalize them are less likely, than formerly, to be labeled "nigger lovers." They do not necessarily lose caste in the white group. An appreciable number of white people are realizing that the Negro who seeks first to establish himself in the good graces of white people, regardless of principle, may be a traitor both to the Negro and to the whites.

Student Friendship

Likewise, the number of white folk who are certain that "they know the Negro" is gradually decreasing; hence an honest effort on their part to understand the Negro—to know him in art, science, religion, education, business. Opinions about the Negro based on prejudice or ignorance are being more and more rejected. The Negro has recently become, in many centers, an object of scientific study.

The existence of interracial distrust on the part of the Negro is more prevalent than we realize. It is due to the fact that only a few Negroes have ever had an opportunity to know white people. The writer was 21 before he knew any white man who he felt was genuinely sincere; 26 when he knew a southern white man that he could fully appreciate. Happily in small circles, at least, this distrust is being eliminated.

Many student workers are making it possible for Negro and white students to meet on a basis of mutual respect. As a result of these contacts, it is not infrequently that you hear Negro students say, "He is the first white man I have ever known. I believe he is sincere." Equally potent is the change that is often wrought in the lives of white students when they come to know Negro students. Some of the choicest spirits of this generation are to be found among white students who learned to be more Christian in a Negro student gathering. Here and there throughout the south, wholesome friendship is being developed between the younger generation of Negro and white students. It is not patronage. It is neither the "superior" nor the "inferior." It is Christian. These incidents are few, rare, isolated; but nevertheless prophetic.

An Awakening Public Mind

The trend is also in the direction of creating a public opinion against mob violence and anti-Negro political campaigning which promises to go a long way toward putting an end to this devastating crime of lynching, and tends to abolish the evil of projecting the race issue into politics. To say this in the face of increased mob rule in 1930 may sound paradoxical. But many lynchings have recently been averted because the officers of the law refused to submit to the demand of the mob. When a lynching occurs it often happens that nobody wants to bear the responsibility for it. Lawyers and officers of the law are beginning to "pass the buck." Officers who perform their duty fearlessly and those who fail to do so will come in, more and more, for their share of public praise or blame. A goodly number of newspapers are speaking out against mob violence without apology.

Perhaps the most recent trend is that of prominent southern women who have announced to the world that lynching is not a protection of virtue. They do this resenting the argument frequently advanced that mob violence is necessary in order to protect the white womanhood of the south; especially do they resent it in the light of facts to show that of the 4,287 persons lynched up to 1930 only 20.6 per cent have even been accused of rape. These women do not want to be used as objects of excuse for uncivilized practices. When the white women speak, America will probably act. Likewise, the politicians who make their political platform anti-Negro are no longer assured of election. Three recent candidates in the south who went out on an anti-Negro political campaign were overwhelmingly defeated.

Less for Negro Education

Every silver lining has its cloud. I make bold to assert that the most discouraging trend in race relations is to be found in the area of public fund expenditures. The south is spending relatively less for the public school education of its Negro citizens. Thirteen southern states in the school year 1918-19 spent $12.91 per capita for each white child of school age; $4.42 for each Negro child—a difference of $8.49. In the school year, 1924-25, these thirteen states spent $27.95 per capita for each white child of school age; for the Negro child $9.52—a difference of $18.43. At the present time these 13 states are expending per capita for each white child of school age $40.92; for the Negro child $15.78—a difference of $25.14. In other words, from 1919 up to the present time the per capita expenditure for the white child increased $28.01; for the Negro child $11.36.

As the appropriations increase, the differences also increase. As the Negro child is advanced the white child is advanced two, two and a half, three times faster. In the main, there is absolutely no approach toward equity except possibly in Kentucky and Texas. Even North Carolina with its vast program of improvement in education is appropriating relatively less and less for public school education of Negroes—with the increased difference in per capita expenditure of $6.24 in 1919 to $30.18 at the present time. It does not require super-wisdom to assert that discrepancies of this kind breed distrust, discontent and dissatisfaction on the part of Negro citizens. As these differences grow the area of conflict will inevitably increase. These injustices are probably more alarming in the expenditure of public funds for Negro recreation, health, dependency, delinquency, and so forth.

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It is too often the case that the maximum salary for a Negro teacher is the minimum salary for the white teacher. The argument that the Negroes' standard of living is lower than that of whites is no longer justifiable. The Negro pays the same for the necessities of life. It is unfair to say that the Negro's standard of living is lower than that of the white man's when the Negro is usually forced to live on less. If John Smith earns $100 a month and John Jones gets $250 a month, John Smith if he is sensible will adjust his expenditures on the basis of his $100 and not on the basis of John Jones' $250. This is different from saying that John Smith's standard of living is naturally lower than that of John Jones. One's standard of living is determined by economic circumstances and not by racial factors; and it varies with the individual. Equally unfair is it to justify these injustices on the ground that the Negro pays less than his share of taxes. The theory of democratic government protects the weak. In practice it does protect the white weak. It should protect the Negro. Many Negroes pay more money in taxes than some white people. The Negro pays as much money in taxes as that group of white people of a similar economic level. Then too, indirectly the laboring man pays the bulk of the taxes and the Negro has his share of laborers. Certainly the toiling multitudes who make profit possible, who are often underpaid, bear more than an equitable share of the tax burden.

Economic and Cultural Conflict

It is common knowledge now that there are not many "Negro" jobs. White men are doing work today which 25 years ago was done exclusively by Negroes. Economic depression and a machine age are forcing the change. Conversely, Negroes are gradually moving upward in the occupational scale and are holding positions formerly held exclusively by white men. As long as the Negro and white workers fail to realize that the cause of labor is one, there will be conflict. As the area of competition increases, racial conflicts are also likely to increase.

Finally there will be increasing cultural conflicts. In the main, the majority of white people are unaware that a Negro is arriving whose outlook on life differs widely from that of many of his ancestors. This Negro resents patronage, paternalism, condescension. He does not appreciate being called "Uncle" or "Aunt" where there is no blood kinship. He resents being considered a boy or girl when he is of age, occupying a place of influence and responsibility in the community. He prefers not to be called George or Sallie when he or she is neither a servant nor is there sufficient intimacy of friendship existing between them to warrant such familiarity. He will not accept stories of love for "Mammy" as proof of friendship or love for the race. Brilliant talks about God or "the Jesus way" will not be enough to convince the critical mind of one's dedication to the religious ideal. Equally significant is the fact that Negro leaders are not necessarily accepted by Negroes because white people acclaim them. When a Negro leader speaks today there are a thousand Negro voices ready to praise or condemn.

America, more and more, will be dealing not with Uncle Tom of 25, 40, or 50 years ago but with his grandson who has successfully fought his way through the best educational institutions that America affords; a Negro who has achieved a small degree of economic independence. Many white people have not kept pace here and in good faith they will seek the old basis of contact. Much patience and tolerance will be required of both groups; for increased conflict in this area is almost unavoidable.

There is and will be cleavage within the ranks of the Negro—the traditional or conservative set over against the type just described. The traditional Negro receives and will receive a ready response from this majority of whites who do not fully appreciate manhood in the Negro. A majority, composed of the more conservative Negroes and whites, will be organized against a minority, the more liberal of the two groups. For a while, at least, there will be a subtle tendency on the part of the former to stifle the more courageous Negroes and advance to positions of power those Negroes who are considered safe. At these points, the forces of interracial good will must not slumber.

Discovery

I HAVE found God on a high hill alone, alone,
On Lookout Mountain with Chattanooga far beneath me,
And above the Grand Canyon where waters hide in rock.
I have seen God as I sat on a park bench
Watching the flaming colors of the sunset,
And a red bird sang above me—
In the wideness of Dakota prairies—
At the foot of the lagoon where the Lincoln Memorial
Puts its feet in heaven—at the feet of Lincoln alone.

I have seen God in the corner of a mountain cabin
Where a small girl sang ballads
And her mother wept in loneliness.
I have seen God when my own mother
Sat beside the coffin of her son,
A young man killed by war.
I saw God in her old hands fumbling a German Bible,
And Jesus smiling to see two enemies at peace there.

I have seen God in the fellowship
All men bear with grief and pain—
The agnostic lifting the weary hands of the pilgrim,
The Christian binding the blasphemer's wounds.

I have seen God in beauty unspeakable
Of hills and sunsets—in the works of men—
Beauty like a sharp pain.
I have seen God with men, humanly alone.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

Power Control and Mind Control

Third Instalment—The Freedom of the Air

By Paul Hutchinson

SO gigantic is the figure of the Radio Corporation of America that consideration of the radio situation is in danger of concerning itself exclusively with the trade practices of that organization. Thus it will be found that many of the bills recently introduced into congress for the purpose of improving conditions in the radio field—such as Senator Dill's bills dealing with patents—and the suit instituted by the government are in essence only an attempt to modify the business methods of R. C. A. Such efforts are needed, for the freedom of the air cannot be assured while there exists monopolistic control of the manufacture and distribution of apparatus to make possible the use of the air. But the danger of R. C. A. cannot be understood in terms of itself. Fully to comprehend this situation we must, on the one hand, look behind R. C. A. to its owners and their allies, and on the other hand we must look ahead to its subsidiaries and their relation to public opinion.

What is behind R. C. A.? The obvious answer is, General Electric, Westinghouse, and A. T. & T. Immediate stock ownership is in the hands of the first two, but the agreement with A. T. & T. and its subsidiary, Western Electric, is so complete that it is usual to include these in the list of controllers. But that answer does not reach deeply enough. What is behind these great electric equipment manufacturing companies? The answer is: A new empire, the empire of power, now rapidly being consolidated under the rule of a few great power magnates, even fewer great banking companies, and a maze of holding corporations which defies analysis, let alone regulation. And if any greatest of rulers be sought in this newest of empires, he may be found in the person of Mr. Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of General Electric, and dominant figure in R. C. A.

We cannot here discuss the ramifications of the power interests, nor the terrific problems involved for the future politics and industry of America. Political leaders like Gifford Pinchot, George W. Norris and Franklin D. Roosevelt are doing their best to educate the American public in this regard, and their efforts are being seconded by many publicists and organizations. But it is revealing, in reading such a book as "Power Control," by H. S. Raushenbush and Harry W. Laidler, to discover that, according to the figures of the federal trade commission, 20 power groups control 83.1 per cent of the national output of electric power![1] And it is even more startling to find that five power groups control more than half of this output (46.9 per cent of the total), while two groups control more than half of the power output of these giant concerns and more than a quarter of the total electric power generated in the entire United States! These two groups are both General Electric companies. One of them is Electric Bond and Share, and the other is the Northeastern group.

2.

What is the significance of this for the purpose of our present inquiry? Simply this, that the companies which are the ostensible owners of R. C. A. are themselves owned by the same limited groups of people who are the real owners of most of the power interests of America. And if it were possible to trace the matter back far enough—as it is not—the present writer has no doubt but that it would be found that a very concentrated banking interest, including possibly not much more than the house of Morgan, with its directorships in corporations with net assets of $74,000,000,000, with its position as fiscal agent for G. E., General Motors, A. T. & T., and its domination, through the United Corporation, of the eastern electrical field, would be found to be the real controller of the whole tightly-knit enterprise. At that, so rapid has been the growth of G. E., financially considered, that its dependence upon any banking support is becoming less and less necessary.

This is not to attack such an arrangement. Big business being what it is, it is inevitable that companies like General Electric should be in close working relationship with the power corporations to which they must sell their manufactures. It is also in line with business trends that the banking arrangements for such developments should tend to concentrate in a few hands. But when considering the future of radio broadcasting, this aspect of ownership must always be kept in mind. For in the national debate over utilities control which is just opening, but which is almost sure to become the major political issue of the next twenty or thirty years, it is of importance to remember that *ultimate control of this agency of mass appeal is in the hands of an interested party.*

An interesting sidelight on this tie-up between power interests and the radio is to be found in personal terms in the career of one man. I refer to Mr. M. H. Aylesworth. As president of the National Broadcasting company, Mr. Aylesworth has more to say concerning the radio programs placed before the public than any other man in the United States. Who is Mr. Aylesworth and how did he come to his present position? A few years ago Mr. Aylesworth was one of the men set to control the activities of the power interests as chairman of the Colorado utilities commission. But the same thing happened in his case that has happened in the case of many another poorly

[1] It must be borne in mind that the federal trade commission statistics used by Raushenbush and Laidler are on the basis of 1925 electric power production. Since then the process of concentration under a few main controlling groups has been rapid.

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paid and politically harrassed public servant. He was induced to switch from the service of the state of Colorado to the publicity department of one of the power companies he had formerly sought to regulate.

As a publicity man for a power company Mr. Aylesworth attracted enough attention to be made director of the National Electric Light association, which is the name of the organization through which the power interests seek to "educate" the American public. That is to say, he became head publicity man for the whole power industry of the United States. The hard-boiled policy adopted by the N. E. L. A., under Mr. Aylesworth's direction led to an astounding campaign to induce clergy, chambers of commerce, the press, all kinds of civic organizations, local politicians, college professors, superintendents of schools, and textbook publishers to spread propaganda in opposition to public and favoring private ownership and operation of utilities—a campaign which profoundly shocked public opinion when it was later disclosed by the investigations of the Interstate commerce commission. An example of his own point of view was given when, addressing an audience of utilities executives, Mr. Aylesworth said:

> I would advise any manager who lives in a community where there is a college, to get the professor of economics interested in your problems. Have him lecture on your subject to his classes. Once in a while it would pay you to take such men, getting $500 or $600 a year, or $1,000 perhaps, and give them a retainer of $100 or $200 a year for the privilege of letting you study and consult with them. For how, in heaven's name, can we do anything in the schools of the country with the young people growing up, if we have not first sold the idea of education to the college professor?[2]

Indignation was widespread when the policy of the National Electric Light association became known, but Mr. Aylesworth did not suffer. Instead, he was chosen by Mr. Owen D. Young to become president of the newly formed National Broadcasting company! The thoughtful citizen will find material for reflection in the fact that such a man, holding such views, came by such a route to such a place.

3.

But if the "radio trust"—R. C. A.—is thus itself a creature of the power interests, it is still necessary to inquire to what extent the trust controls the avenues of approach to the public mind. Are there not hundreds of radio stations? And is not the number of stations owned by R. C. A. small? Is there not, therefore, plenty of chance left for reaching the public with material presenting the other side on controversial matters? Let us see.

Radio broadcasting is one field in which what amounts to censorship must be set up. This for the simple reason that there are but 90 air channels over which programs may be broadcast. Without restriction on the number of stations broadcasting and on the air channels, or wave lengths, used, chaos would result, and all broadcasting would become impossible. Congress has, therefore, placed in the hands of a federal radio commission the power to control broadcasting, saying what stations may use the air and under what conditions. This commission also has the power, at its discretion, to force stations to stop broadcasting. But the moment the government, through its commission or by any other method, tells one station that it may broadcast and another that it may not, by that act it establishes a virtual censorship.

Under the radio law of 1927, the radio commission is bound to grant station licenses in accord with "the public interest, necessity and convenience." The nation is at present divided into five radio zones, and the general theory of licensing is that equal provision of broadcasting facilities is to be afforded to the citizens in each zone. Since, however, these zones differ greatly in population, the commission is left largely free to determine how many licenses shall be granted in each zone; what power shall be given each station, and during what hours each station shall be allowed to broadcast.

There are at present 611 licensed broadcasting stations in the United States, its territories and possessions. Divide 90 available air channels by 611 stations and the basic problem of the radio commission becomes clear.[3] However, actual practice introduces still another complication. For, in actual practice, the commission has ruled that there shall be two different kinds of channels, "cleared" and "non-cleared" —the latter sometimes called "regional" or "local"— and there must also be just discrimination shown in the allocation of these two classes.

A "cleared" radio channel is, according to the definition of the radio commission, "a channel that is absolutely clear for the stations that are using it; no other station using it at the same time." With 40 out of 90 channels thus cleared, and 611 stations seeking the air, it can be seen that the possession of such a cleared channel gives the holding station a position of immense advantage in carrying its programs to the public. Given a cleared channel, given large power, or given long hours on the air—or given a combination of these three—and it is clear that radio station is able to reach a much larger audience and have a much more powerful effect on public opinion than can a station without these advantages.

4.

Now look at the question from the standpoint of R. C. A. In its own right, R. C. A. owns only two stations. Its subsidiary, the National Broadcasting company, owns one in New York city and leases a few outside that city. The number of such leases is increasing, but complete information is not available. One parent company, General Electric, owns a station at Schenectady, another in Denver and another in Oakland, and the other, Westinghouse, one in Pittsburgh, one in Springfield, Massachusetts, and an-

[2] Social Service Bulletin, Methodist federation for social service, vol. 20, no. 11, p. 2.

[3] The number of channels is technically only 89, but the approximate figure, 90, has become generally used in discussions of this subject.

other in Chicago. But the policy of owning or leasing stations, which would be expensive, has been generally passed by in favor of the policy of building "chains" of cooperating stations broadcasting programs originating in N. B. C. studios.[4]

There are now 74 American stations on the chains of the N. B. C. These send out two classes of programs, the "sponsored" and the "sustaining." The sponsored programs are those broadcast under the auspices of some commercial body, which buys the time for advertising purposes, hires the talent (with the advice, aid and approval of the N. B. C.), and seeks in this fashion to create public interest and good will, and to increase sales. The latest available figures show that the cost to advertisers for an evening hour's coast-to-coast program, over the "red" network, using stations in 42 cities, is $9,230; over the "blue" network, reaching 33 cities, $7,690. An hour's broadcast over the Pacific coast network, with stations in five cities, costs the advertiser $1,100.[5]

No public exhibits of the form of contract between the N. B. C. and the stations comprising its chains exist. There may be no standard contract, or no written agreements of any kind. This has been widely asserted. But that the N. B. C. insists on an exclusive right to supply chain features to the local stations on its networks was shown in 1929 when the 7,500-watt station, WCCO, at Minneapolis, owned by the Washburn Crosby company, sought the privilege of taking some of its programs from the Columbia Broadcasting system. The N. B. C. immediately withdrew its service from the Minneapolis station, although WCCO is admittedly one of the most efficiently conducted stations in its part of the country.

Now to get back to the broadcasting field as a whole, a study of the 40 channels cleared by the radio commission shows that on 28 of them there are stations on the N. B. C. chains! On 13 there are stations affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting system. Only two cleared channels are not occupied by chain stations![6] On February 19, 1931, the chief examiner recommended to the federal radio commission, granting to eight stations 50,000 watts power on clear channels. Of the eight, six are on N. B. C. chains and two on C. B. S. At the same time 11 stations were recommended for increase of power to 25,000 watts. Of these, eight were N. B. C., two C. B. S., and one independent. Not only do these chain stations occupy practically all the cleared channels, but they also hold practically all the assignments to high power. Thus, a study of the N. B. C. chain stations in the United States shows that their *average* power is over 10,257 watts, although the general basis of assignment by the radio commission gives stations for local broadcasting only 100 watts, stations for regional broadcasting a maximum of 1,000 watts, and radio engineers themselves have testified that there is no perceivable improvement in distances covered by broadcasting between the output of a station of 5,000 watts and that of a station of 50,000 watts.[7]

5.

To put it succinctly, study of the radio map of America shows that the chain stations hold practically all the cleared channels and operate on a much higher than average grant of power. Indeed, in the case of the N. B. C. chain stations it is found that the *average* grant of power to stations is more than 5,000 watts in excess of what the president of that company has testified is needed to produce regular reception at dependable distances! These stations, in other words, practically blanket the country with programs which originate in the studios of this subsidiary of R. C. A.

The one apparent exception to this—the one element in the broadcasting situation which keeps the N. B. C. from having the virtual monopoly of the air which its president testified before the congressional committee he did not want it to have—is in the competition of another chain, the Columbia Broadcasting system. But just how much of a competitor C. B. S. is of N. B. C., it would be hard to say. Undoubtedly, in the immediate effort to secure advertising programs, the two chains compete. But whether, in their ultimate control, the two are or will continue to be really separate is another question. C. B. S. is half-owned by one of the great moving picture combines, Paramount-Famous-Lasky. R. C. A., which owns N. B. C., is deep in the movie field, through its ownership of Radio-Keith-Orpheum, through its ownership of Radio Pictures, through its ownership of Film Booking offices, through its ownership of the Pantages circuit of theaters.[8] All the moving picture groups named are closely allied in the Moving Picture Producers and Distributors of America—the Will Hays organization—which was recently held guilty by the supreme court of using illegal practices in restraint of trade. It is frequently rumored within the industry that this alliance traces back to a common banking domination. If this is true, the ultimate control of C. B. S. and N. B. C. is likely to be, if not identical, closely allied.

Here, then, we see the extent of the broadcasting empire set up by the chains. But before the picture is complete we must ask, What part of the air is left to the independent stations?

(To be continued)

[4] Statistics in regard to broadcasting stations throughout this study are as of February 1, 1931, and are compiled from the 1931 Directory of Radio Broadcasting Stations, published by the Chicago Daily News.

[5] "This Thing Called Broadcasting," page 279.

[6] Testimony of H. A. Lafount, hearings before committee on merchant marine and fisheries, house of representatives; page 859.

[7] Testimony of M. H. Aylesworth, ibid., page 567ff. It is only fair to say that this was the testimony at the time when R. C. A. interests were opposing high-power grants. At present, with chain stations on practically all cleared channels, R. C. A. favors high power for all such stations, and its engineers are stressing the superiority of 50,000 watt stations. However, it is of interest to note that the main station of the Columbia Broadcasting system still operates satisfactorily on 5,000 watts.

[8] On December 6, 1930, the sale of the Pathé moving picture interests in the United States and Great Britain to R-K-O was announced.

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BOOKS

The Historian's Holiday

IF, OR HISTORY REWRITTEN. *Edited by J. C. Squire. Viking Press,* $3.00.

IT IS the most elementary principle of historiography that no historian in his right mind should ever undertake to tell what would have happened, at least more than one remove in the chain of causation, if at any one of history's innumerable crucial points the actual course of events had taken the other fork of the road. So it is in the spirit of a Saturday night lark that eleven well known writers, whose reputation for sanity can stand the strain of even such an excursion into unreality, conspire to give answers to such riddles as these: What if the Moors in Spain had won; if the Dutch had kept Nieuw Amsterdam; if Don John of Austria had married Mary Queen of Scots; if Napoleon had escaped to America; if Byron had become king of Greece; if Lee had *not* won at Gettysburg; if Booth had missed Lincoln? Among the authors are Maurois, Belloc, Chesterton, Van Loon, Guedalla, Ludwig, H. A. L. Fisher, and J. C. Squire. A brilliant company. The point of this sort of thing is that the apparently unrestrained play of imagination should start from a knowledge of the relevant facts and should not be flagrantly at variance with probability after the initial assumption has been made. With but slight exceptions these conditions are fulfilled. Winston Churchill's representation of the victorious Confederate states immediately abolishing slavery is perhaps the most violently improbable of the imaginary events, but his purpose is to pave the way for an alliance between the C. S. A. and Great Britain, a threat of world war originating in America but prevented by Roosevelt and Balfour in 1905, and the formation of an English-speaking union which saved the peace of the world in 1915 and led to a United States of Europe. In such irresponsible essays in pseudo-history, each writer has ample opportunity to use his folly as a stalking-house and under presentation of it to shoot his wit or his pet ideas. Thus Mr. Van Loon takes a side swipe at prohibition and Mr. Belloc and Mr. Chesterton engage, as usual, in apologetics for Roman Catholicism. The volume ends, hilariously, with Bacon proved to be the author of Shakespeare's plays—and Shakespeare the author of Bacon's essays.

WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON.

Three Generations of Puritanism

PURITAN'S PROGRESS. *By Arthur Train. Charles Scribner's Sons,* $3.50.

DELVING about the roots of his own family tree, the seed of which was planted in New England in 1935, and exploring its trunk and branches, Mr. Train has found materials for a tolerably complete survey of the history of American manners and morals through three centuries. The annals of the family furnish, of course, only a minor fraction of the data utilized. Mr. Train, who has already made two good reputations—one as assistant district attorney in New York city, and one as the writer of the best fiction that anybody ever wrote about the quirks and quibbles of the law and particularly as the creator of the incomparable "Mr. Tutt"—has now earned another as social historian. It is as the recorder rather than the interpreter of the progress and passing of Puritanism that his work is most valuable. He has no theory to prove. However, toward the end he does express the opinion that the distinctive Puritan contribution to American life was not a code of morals or a view of religion but "the mental habit of willing to achieve and to accomplish"; and he hazards the judgment that "the features of early Puritan life and character most detrimental to human happiness were the consciousness of sin, absence of divorce, imprisonment for debt, and indigestion." The country seems to have escaped pretty completely from the first three of these handicaps—if they are handicaps. As he does not argue the point, the reviewer need not. Whatever may be our modern foibles, we have made some progress. There is no longer "at least one out and out drunkard in almost every family," as in the good old days before the devastating blight of prohibition came to corrupt us. The churches no longer quarrel about the introduction of instrumental music, as the New England churches did over the bass viol early in the nineteenth century as vigorously as the frontier churches did a generation or two later over the organ. We no longer give our children such names as "Preserved Fish." And morality has escaped from the prudery which prescribed (as in Lady Gough's book on etiquette, in 1863) that "the works of male and female authors be properly separated on the bookshelves. Their proximity unless they happen to be married should not be tolerated." But that was English, and Victorian rather than Puritan.

Books in Brief

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE. *By Devere Allen. The Macmillan Company,* $5.00.

When a confirmed and complete pacifist undertakes to survey the whole subject of war and the past and present efforts to establish permanent and universal peace, his difficulty is not so much to avoid being unfair to war and its friends as to do justice to peace projects and peace advocates less radical than his own perfect pacifism. Mr. Allen has made a sincere and gallant effort to overcome that difficulty. He discusses with sympathetic appreciation, but also with critical intelligence, the various motives which have led men to seek to make an end of war and the methods by which that objective has been sought. For the most part, the treatment is objective and factual. Criticisms of various projects for inadequacy or impracticability are made only after a fairly complete and accurate exposition so that, whether or not the reader agrees with the criticism, he will at least have dependable information as to what it is that is being criticized. The discussion of the Kellogg-Briand pact leaves a good deal to be desired, when seen from the point of view with which readers of The Christian Century are familiar. Apart from this, the student of international affairs will find in this volume a perfect treasury of information and argument with reference to all periods and phases of the peace movement. It is to be noted with praise that the author, though a pronounced pacifist, is thoroughly appreciative of those efforts for peace which do not involve an unconditional personal refusal to participate in war.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. *By Jerome Davis. The Century Co.,* $5.00.

Pending a possible fuller review, mention should be made of this voluminous textbook of 900 pages in which the author surveys not only the United States but the world and describes and evaluates the social movements of the present day

under the following heads: utopias, socialism, communism, fascism, the cooperative movement, the British labor movement, the peace movement. It will be observed that the social "movements" here considered are principally those which involve important influences upon the structure and functioning of government, and chiefly those of international significance. Naturally, such a treatise reaches its climax in a discussion of the movement for international peace. While the author honors the "outlawry" movement with an extended presentation and critique, his interpretation of the peace pact is, from the standpoint with which readers of The Christian Century are familiar, completely and thoroughly erroneous.

NOVELS AND TALES BY CATHOLIC WRITERS. *Compiled by Stephen J. Brown, S.J. American Press,* $.50.

An extensive bibliography of English and American Catholic fiction; not all religious, as witness the many titles by Joseph Conrad and Jules Verne.

CORRESPONDENCE

Mooney and Billings: Two Views

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have received a letter from "The National Church Committee on Mooney and Billings." On the letterhead are the names of 103 of our leading churchmen. It is an impressive array. No list of humanitarian and progressive Americans would be complete without these names. The majority of these men live across the continent from California. Not a single one lives within 400 miles of this embattled scene.

This letter states, "The facts are clear." To us in California the facts are not so clear. Are all of us afflicted with moral myopia? Or is it necessary for us to move to the other side of the continent in order to secure the proper perspective?

Perhaps I may be the one to reassure our brethren who are so anxious lest we Californians be dead to a sense of fair play. I was pastor of the governor who last denied Mooney a pardon. I am chaplain of the legislature in which the case is coming up in various forms. I want to assure kindred progressive spirits that there is still something in California to which they may appeal. For if our sense of justice were so obtuse as they fear, humanitarianism would be in bad case indeed.

It is claimed that not Mooney and Billings, but Californians are on trial. Very well! I maintain that our prosecutors prove too much! Three governors and six supreme court judges hold that Mooney and Billings are not innocent. Practically every man in California who has read the full testimony in the case agrees with them. The most humanitarian governor California has ever had says that after months of study he is unable to convince himself of Mooney's innocence. The Sacramento Bee, the tireless foe of predatory interests which, it is claimed, have persecuted these men, is opposing their pardon. Mooney, in his recent booklet, "Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney," says: "Not a single labor leader in California is on record in black and white in a letter to the governor of California urging the pardon of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings."

If all of these people are governed by mere prejudice then we may well despair of gaining a fair hearing in California for any humanitarian cause. Let me reassure my colleagues on the Atlantic seaboard.

This is written with no desire to further blacken the reputations of Mooney and Billings. But Mooney is not of "irreproachable character," as a recent article maintains. He had been a known dynamiter for years. Billings, when he was convicted and sentenced to Folsom prison for carrying dynamite, admitted that Mooney was to have paid him $25 if he had completed the "job." Mooney had always been an advocate of "direct action." He had been expelled from the socialist party for advocating the use of dynamite. He had been tried three times for using explosives. Twice the jury disagreed. In the third trial he escaped conviction on the technicality that the percussion caps he was carrying were not high explosives. Doubtless, his deeds of violence were directed only at property and not against human life. But it is a well known principle of law that if, when a man is committing any crime, a death results, he is guilty of murder.

Billings' whole life had been a career of crime. A recent article states that there was prejudice against him "because he had been in jail once." He had been in jail many times. He had served a term in Folsom prison for carrying dynamite. Before coming to California he had been convicted and paroled in New York. Maxwell McNutt, counsel for the defense in 1916, more recently said, "There is nothing in the histories of Mooney and Billings which I would not accept as being the truth."

The group to which Mooney and Billings belonged certainly knew that violence was to take place on the day when the explosion actually did occur. The Blast, an anarchistic paper, of which Mooney was a contributing editor, gave warning to keep off the streets that day. Neither Mooney nor Billings, nor any other member of this group has helped to apprehend any other persons responsible for the bomb outrage, if these men themselves were not. This fact also may be stated for what it is worth: since Mooney and Billings were incarcerated, the succession of dynamitings has abruptly ceased.

I am not now citing legal evidence in the case. Of course the statements I have made could not be presented at a trial. But in the recent reopening of the case by the supreme court many extra-juridical matters favorable to these men were admitted. The supreme court allowed great latitude. It spared no effort to get at the truth. So these other considerations, while they are not evidence, may not be entirely incompetent.

Now as to the trial itself. The testimony of only one witness has been discredited. Oxman, who probably perjured himself, was an irresponsible notoriety seeker. But the case did not at all depend upon his testimony. MacDonald, whose recent recantation caused a sensation, told a straight story when he was on the stand. He had volunteered his information, first, to a Salvation army captain who urged him to report it to the police. At the police station he identified a picture of Billings on his own initiative. On the stand, under oath, before the public, while his memory was still fresh, though cross-examined by the greatest criminal lawyer in the country, he convinced the jury that he was telling the truth. Years afterward, under constant badgering and play upon his emotions, he signed in private a prepared affidavit casting doubt upon his first story. Just recently, when examined by the supreme court, he told several different stories. Nothing which he says at the present time is apparently trustworthy. His is a pitiful case of mental degeneration. But he was mentally alert and convincing on the stand 14 years ago!

Estelle Smith, the other "discredited" witness, told the supreme court that she had not fully read the recanting affidavit which, under pressure, she had signed; and that on reading it now she finds that it is not accurate. Others, including the jurors, have made their retractions and have signed prepared affidavits under similar pressure. They have not said that they now believe these men to be innocent. What they have said in effect is: if facts are as represented by the members of the Mooney defense committee, they are not sure that they did right in voting for conviction.

As to the frame-up. The attorneys for Mooney and Billings stipulated before the supreme court that there had been no frame-up. They further stipulated that there had been a fair trial. Fremont Older, the original mover in behalf of Mooney and Billings, was asked by the supreme court why he had at first claimed a frame-up which he now disavows. His reply was that this was the only way to broaden and dramatize the implications of the case so as to arouse the whole country. Some of the

defense committee now say that they disavowed a frame-up before the supreme court simply because they thought such disavowal was necessary in order to get the men pardoned. If this was a mere device, what about the "principle" for which they claim to be fighting?

And now, what to do? Get Mooney and Billings out of prison? It can be done at once. I have the practical assurance that if they make application they will be paroled by the prison board. They say that to make such application would be to admit their guilt. On the other hand, to issue a pardon would mean an admission of their innocence. This, I am safe in saying, no governor can or will do.

I believe that they should have had a new trial long ago. Most Californians would have welcomed one. But several witnesses have since died or disappeared.

So it is hardly true that "the facts are clear." But this much is clear, that justice is not yet dead in California. We Californians still have the spirit of fair play. Be reassured, brethren on the Atlantic coast, when you make your appeal to this spirit.

Sacramento, Calif. LAWRENCE WILSON.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Apropos the letter in The Christian Century under the caption, "One View of the Mooney Case," and signed by John E. Stuchell, vice moderator, synod of California, may I, as one familiar with the cases from the beginning, make two or three observations. First, then, as to the argument that because these men were adjudged guilty by regular process of law their conviction ought not to be questioned, does not the argument prove too much? Were not Socrates, Jesus, Paul, John Huss, Servetus, John Bunyan, and a host of others who questioned the order of their day also condemned by due process of law? In the instance of John Bunyan, for example, it was no less a distinguished legislator than Sir Matthew Hale who sent the immortal tinker to jail, and kept him there almost as long as our California labor agitators have been in jail. No comparison in point of character is involved in the contention that the argument from "due process of law" is a repudiation of all the finest and best passages in the history of human progress, as the law and the courts have in innumerable instances been with the standing order and against the heroes and martyrs of religious and social protest. A Christian man's thinking must be curiously twisted by class prejudice when it leans upon such an argument. If later instances than those to which I have referred are wanted, and cases more analogous to the Mooney-Billings case, let Mr. Stuchell, and such as stand with him, review carefully the famous or infamous Dreyfus case in France, in which, alas, church apologists for the shameful and quite legal perversion of justice were all too abundant.

Moreover it is to be considered that even by the standard of "due legal process" the California courts acquitted Mrs. Mooney and Ed Nolan and Israel Weinberg, who were just as guilty, or innocent, as Mooney and Billings. The difference was that before these last were brought to trial, or dismissed for lack of evidence against them, there had been time to expose the utterly rotten character of the testimony on which Billings and Mooney were railroaded to jail.

Also with respect to the contention that the governor ought not to exercise pardoning power at the request of the people, may I ask two questions? What is the pardoning power for if it is not to correct the mistakes and over-severities of the courts, in recognition of the inevitable fallibility of our judicial institutions? And is it any worse for a governor to give heed to the insistent judgment of the best minds both inside and outside of California, expressed in increasing volume through the years, than to refuse to act because, as everybody knows, the profiteers and the patro-maniacs are on the other side?

Really, Mr. Editor, in an hour when the noble appeal of the National Church Committee on Mooney and Billings, showing the names of more than one hundred of the foremost church leaders of the country, is being pressed upon the churches, and is operating, as I well know, to assure multitudes who have been alienated from the churches that after all the American religious bodies can do the decent and the courageous thing, it is nothing less than a tragedy that a man in official Christian position should make this belated apology for one of the blackest miscarriages of justice in the annals of our American courts. It is the reputation of Christ, through his church, and not of Caesar, through his courts, with which we are concerned.

La Crescenta, Calif. ROBERT WHITAKER.

The Altar and the Flag

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The question you raise anent "The Altar and the Flag" is one that deserves consideration. A few years ago William Hard, the journalist, protested against the flag in our churches on the ground principally that its associations were immediately suggestive of a national unity, preserved, continued and unified by war and the fear and distrust of other nations—an attitude wholly inconsistent with the cross and altar. There is no doubt of that association, although the flag stands for more than that.

There is a distinction that we may make here between the nation and the state and thus honor the flag dissociated from war. It is the nation that expresses the spiritual life of its people for the present and presents some cause to which the individual dedicates himself. It is the state that declares war, but this is a matter of political expediency and temporal decision. The state can only function as the expression of the idealism of the nation, although the state is long in wisdom on means to pervert the fine idealism of the nation to its own particular ends. Be that as it may, the distinction is still a valid one. The nation functions through its churches and schools for such eternal ends as the nurture of the spiritual and cultural life of its people. The state functions through its political channels for such temporal ends as the immediate advantage demands.

Is it at all inconsistent, therefore, that we should honor the flag in our churches along with the cross and altar? The cross is supreme always and bows to no other symbol for it is the abandon of self to some cause greater than self. The flag, however, for this moment in our world, expresses the emotional objective of the common life of the nation, that consciousness of belonging to one another, which the nation idealizes and objectifies. For this moment it is the farthest step forward of humanity united in a world brotherhood of nations—an ideal of internationalism rather than cosmopolitanism. Thus the flag gathers to itself this tremendous ideal suggestion of the greater whole of humanity as one way of the cross.

Douglaston, L. I. LESTER LEAKE RILEY.

The Peril in Nebraska

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I refuse to be scared! That was indeed a hair-raising story that came from Los Angeles via Blackwell, Okla., to appear in your correspondence column February 18, telling of the sinister purposes and naughty doings of Professor Einstein as related by Commander William A. Allen recently in a Los Angeles church. I echo the words of the writer, "The Lord help us if it's true." But I refuse to be scared.

Some ten years ago a meeting of the ministers' association of Lincoln, Neb., where I was then pastor, was hastily called to meet at the executive mansion. I sat in that meeting from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m., without adjournment for lunch, and aside from a brief talk by the governor, and another man, the entire time was taken by two military men in full uniform telling us that they had inside information that a well organized and deeply laid plan had been perfected by the lawless elements of this country to overthrow the government, that their munitions of war had been assembled and the day, some six months hence in the early spring, had been set for this daring deed. The purpose of all this fearsome talking was to inspire the ministers of Lincoln to go into their pulpits with stirring appeals for preparedness—which none of us did so far as I ever heard. The next spring came and went, as many before and since, with nothing more terrifying than the singing of the robins.

Greencastle, Pa. S. S. HILSCHER.

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NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

A DEPARTMENT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Henderson Wins Naval Peace

Treaty with France and Italy Brings Credit to Hard-Pressed Labor Government

(British Table Talk)

LONDON, March 1.—The best news of the week in public affairs is the report of an agreement upon naval programs between France and Italy. For this credit is due to Mr. Henderson, the foreign secretary. If we really had a true sense of proportion, we should have given Mr. Henderson at least as great a welcome as we gave to Mr. Charlie Chaplin, but it seems too much to expect that a minister of reconciliation between nations should be as renowned as a popular comedian. The success of Mr. Henderson comes at a time when the government badly needs a credit. Its education bill seems dead; its education minister has resigned, announcing at the same time his disagreement with Mr. Snowden's financial policy. The trades disputes bill is in great peril. The budget will show a serious deficiency. Sir Oswald Mosley, once in the government, announces the formation of a new party. Mr. Maxton and the left wing are in revolt. Therefore, a success in Rome is welcome. At the same time the other parties are also in a state of confusion. Mr. Churchill leads a section which advocates the strong hand in India; the empire crusaders act in defiance of Mr. Baldwin. And the liberals have at least two divisions, one which would turn the government out, the other which keeps it in. The prime minister may say, as Charles II said to James, "They won't put me out to put you in."

* * *

The Church As It Is Today

The best news of the churches is that they are turning seriously to their business of evangelism in the true sense of the word. The Church of England assembly has definitely called its people to this task; and both the archbishop of York and many bishops, Lincoln, Exeter, Liverpool, Ripon and others, have pressed upon their congregations this duty. The bishop of Exeter says that wireless and the press are doing much of the work that was once done at street corners and in parks; what remains is the personal work which it is agreed on all hands has been seriously neglected. There should be a general staff to deal with evangelism, the bishop of Liverpool says.

It is an important fact to have in the Church of England an awakening to this paramount task. The mission of Dr. Temple in Oxford, in which there was provision made for personal interviews both with the missioner and with his helper, Canon Pym, has helped to bring the need of evangelism to the fore.

The Congregationalists are calling their people to the same duty. Excellent pamphlets are being widely distributed to show what can be done through visitation and open-air preaching as well as through the ministry of the sanctuary. The Methodists, soon to become one and undivided, are looking for a great spiritual advance. They are declaring that their own sacred traditions remain unfulfilled unless they are giving themselves to the task of making known to all the world the unbounded grace of God.

There are many things to distress the churches; on almost every side there is a decline in the resources offered for missionary work; there is a revival of controversy upon religious education; there is blatant paganism in our cities; but there are signs of hope, and none more welcome than the news that the churches are determined once more to preach Christ.

* * *

The Cambridge Seven and Other Matters

By the death of Stanley Smith the "Cambridge Seven" are reduced to five, and one of them, C. T. Studd, is fighting on in Central Africa in bodily weakness. The second to go was a missionary in China of marked linguistic ability, and like the others, with an undying enthusiasm. The story of the seven is one of the romances in the life of the church in these latter days. They were seven men, much more famous on the river and on the cricket field than in the school of learning. They came under the preaching of Moody to a confident and passionate faith; they were evangelicals of the old uncompromising kind and such they remain. But the British people listened to them and were deeply moved; they got their hearing because Stanley Smith was a rowing blue, and Studd was the best all-round cricketer of his time. And they used that hearing to some purpose. . . . Those who take an interest in British preachers cannot do better than read "Princes of the Pulpit," by Mr. E. H. Jeffs. The author has a mind sensitive to all that preaching means, and in this book he has recorded with unfailing interest the responses which preachers of many schools have awakened in him, and on the way he has offered many illuminating judgments. . . . Last Saturday the first air-mail service to central Africa began; letters ought to reach Uganda in eight days instead of 24 or 25; more than 40,000 letters were carried on the first journey. . . . March has come in very much like a lion, or perhaps a polar bear; on Sunday, Cambridge, where I spent the day, was covered with snow.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

India Ponders British Proffer

Debate Reality of Self-Government Plan —Arbitrate Differences in Syrian Church

(Correspondence from India)

NAGPUR, Feb. 13.—The one absorbing topic of discussion in India at the present day is the offer contained in the remarkable speech made by the British premier at the close of the round table conference. The unconditional release from prison of the members of the working committee of the national congress, including Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent leaders, has facilitated consideration of the British offer. On Feb. 1, the working committee of the congress met and adopted certain resolutions giving expression to its views on the premier's offer, but before they were released to the public three of the prominent members of the round table conference, Mr. Srinivsa Sastri, Mr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, cabled from London to Mahatma Gandhi urging him and the congress to defer decision on the premier's offer till they were able to return to India and explain further about what happened in London. The readiness with which Mahatma Gandhi agreed to withhold publishing the resolutions adopted by the working committee till after these gentlemen returned to India and explained their point of view is regarded in many quarters as a sign of the conciliatory spirit that actuates Mr. Gandhi.

These gentlemen returned to India on Feb. 6, but owing to the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru at Lucknow on that day, which plunged the whole country in mourning, the conference of the three returned delegates from London with Mr. Gandhi has been delayed. This conference is now going on, and the whole country is awaiting news about its result with great anxiety.

Meanwhile, the prospects of peace being established between the congress and the government have been somewhat imperiled by incidents in different parts of the country in which the police are alleged to have beaten mercilessly unarmed men and women who have been engaged in the peaceful picketing of shops which sell foreign cloth. Mr. Gandhi wrote a letter to the viceroy in which attention was drawn to these alleged acts of cruelty on the part of the police and requested that an impartial tribunal should be appointed to investigate the charges, Mr. Gandhi himself undertaking to lead evidence before the tribunal and accept the verdict of the tribunal. The reply of the viceroy, ac-

cording to reports in the papers, is that it is undesirable to hold an inquiry into police excesses at present, that the police attitude on the whole has been exceptionally good, that the congress volunteers in many places had not abided by the congress injunctions for strict non-violence, and that the best course now would be to let bygones be bygones. The public take the reply of the viceroy as only another evidence of how even a good man like Lord Irvin at the head of the British administration accepts the reports of the subordinate officials as true and upholds them against the unimpeachable evidence that some of the most trusted leaders of the people have in their possession against the police.

* * *

Continuing the Round Table Conference

The unsatisfactory reply of the viceroy notwithstanding, many in congress circles are in favor of making the offer made by the premier a basis for negotiations and arriving at terms which will give reasonable satisfaction to the nationalist demands. The point on which there is considerable misgiving is the scheme of "safeguards" in the central government outlined in the premier's statement. Those who are in favor of accepting these "safeguards" say that they are intended only for the period of transition and are subject to further examination.

"Every department of the central government," they say, "including finance and excepting only defense and external affairs will be under the control of the Indian legislature." But the others say: "The labor government offers India only the shadow and not the substance of freedom, because the central legislature will not only lack decisive power in respect of defense, external affairs, law and order and constitutional rights of minorities but it will also have no control over 'the service of loans' and exchange. Nor are certain elements in the public service to be under its power in the sense and to the extent that all public services in any dominion are under the parliament of that dominion."

It is clear that the proposed "safeguards" are intended to insure that the grant of some more measure of self-government to India should inflict no harm to the vested interests of Britishers whether in trade or public services or financial control of India. It is also clear that the labor government has gone as far as it can in introducing responsibility at the center, when we consider the opposition consistently offered by the conservative and liberal parties to any real measure of self-government.

Happily the work of the round table conference is not over; it is only really beginning in India. The congress leaders will be wise in taking what the labor government now offers as the basis for further negotiations and trying to secure better terms in regard to the "safeguards." In view of the labor government's idea of sending to India for continuing through consultation the work started in the round table conference a strong group of British statesmen, in which

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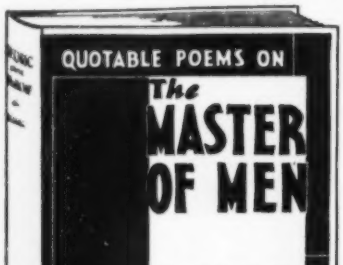

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it is rumored that Mr. Wedgewood Benn will be included, the congress will be committing a great mistake if the door for further negotiation now open is closed. It will be nothing less than a calamity to India if such a thing happens, for it will mean the congress carrying on its program of civil disobedience and the government forced in consequence to resort to repression and special ordinances to prevent the administration from breaking down and thereby letting loose on the land the forces of disorder and anarchy.

* * *

Syrian Churches In India

It is not generally known that on the west coast of South India there has been in existence from the early centuries of the Christian era a church which owes its origin to the missionary labors of the churches of Asia Minor. This ancient community of Christians, whose Christianity is older than the Christianity of most of the European nations, now numbers only about 800,000. About 300,000 of these were brought to the obedience of the pope of Rome four centuries ago, mostly under the political influence of the Portuguese and aided by methods like the inquisition. The pope has allowed the Syriac rite instead of the Latin rite to these Roman Catholics, and they have also their Indian bishops. Those who did not come under the sway of the Roman Catholic church remained in the church of their forefathers, generally known as the Syrian church.

About 60 years ago an evangelical movement started in this church, but as it was considered that it was against the traditions and teachings of this ancient eastern church, the bishop and clergy and people who favored the movement were legally dispossessed of any share in the old endowments of the church. This led them to break away from the old Syrian church and organize themselves as an independent church with its own bishop and church council free from control by any foreign ecclesiastical authority.

This evangelical section of the Syrian church in India is known as the Mar Thoma Syrian church and has a membership of more than 100,000. The old Syrian church, also known as the Jacobite Syrian church, has for centuries been recognizing the spiritual authority of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (now with headquarters at Mosul) though the church has had from very early times Indian bishops. Some 20 years ago differences arose between the patriarch and the Indian metropolitan of the Jacobite Syrian church, not on any points of faith and order but on questions relating to the authority of the patriarch in relation to the authority of the Indian metropolitan. This led to a division in the church, one section being on the side of the foreign patriarch and the other section being on the side of the Indian metropolitan.

As the administration of endowments and church properties were involved, the matter has had to go to the law courts. This litigation is, however, having a most harmful effect on the life of the church. Lord Irvin, the viceroy, when he visited

(*Continued on page* 423)

Family Problems Face Assembly

Coming Presbyterian Gathering Will Act on Report on Marriage, Divorce and Birth Control

(*Correspondence from Pittsburgh*)

PITTSBURGH, March 14.—The general assembly of the Presbyterian church, North, will convene in this city on May 28. The moderator, Dr. Hugh Thompson Kerr, is pastor of our Shadyside Presbyterian church. According to the papers, a special commission, working on the problems of "Marriage, Divorce and Re-Marriage" met in the William Penn hotel March 6 and 7. Their recommendations will be proposed as a change to the constitution. Dr. Clarence Spaulding, of Santa Barbara, Calif., is quoted in the press as saying that four avenues of approach are suggested. First: The general education of those preparing for the ministry will include studies of moral control, due to changing conditions of life. Second: Adequate sex instruction in the seminary itself, with particular attention to home adjustment. Third: Education of parents, particularly with a view to safeguarding the children from unwholesome home experiences, and impartation of scientific sex knowledge. (The aid of secular organizations will be sought here.) Fourth: Education of young people for parenthood.

The recognition of birth control as a scientific and social measure was endorsed by the commission. "Birth control is a progressive step and we will press adoption of it by the church," commission members stated. Dr. Howard A. Johnston, of Milwaukee, declared: "Children have the God-given right to be well born." Physical examination before marriage was also approved. Methods for medical advice, distribution of information and other details will be worked out at the meeting of the commission on May 26, here. In the question of divorce only two grounds for the dissolution of marriage were considered acceptable; first, unfaithfulness; second, "irremediable desertion." Re-marriage will only be countenanced when contracted between innocent individuals divorced on one of the above grounds. Marriage is described as an "unbroken continuance of wedlock so long as both shall live." Secret, hasty and sentimental marriages are frowned upon. When approved by the assembly, the cooperation of secular organizations and of new laws will be sought.

The commission was composed of the following persons: Ralph Davis, of Erie, chairman; Ralph C. McAfee, of Detroit, secretary; Dr. Clarence Spaulding, of Santa Barbara, Cal.; H. I. Donnelly, of Princeton university; Dr. Kenneth Miller, of Madison, N. Y.; Rev. J. W. Claudy, of Pittsburgh, and Howard A. Johnston of Milwaukee. Ruling elders and women in attendance were Dr. Marion Shepard, of the University of Pittsburgh; Dean Ma-

bel Roys, of Wells college, Aurora, N. Y.; and William J. Kyle, of Waynesburg.

* * *

Dr. Milliron Believes in Small Church

Nine years ago, Dr. Norman Milliron, graduate of Drew university and New York university, left a church of 1,000 and came to Pittsburgh to accept a call from a struggling church of 200 members. He has built up the Evangelical church to a solid membership of approximately 400. He does not agree that a large church, with a large staff, best conduces to the development of individual spirituality. His theory is that a pastor should gather around him a congenial group, every member of which he can reach and impress by his own personality.

Dr. Milliron not only is an unusually good preacher but a man of rare social charm. His "shepherd" instinct sends him out among his "flock," and he is never as happy as when he is ringing doorbells. A number of outstanding business men belong to his church. The church-night dinners, held once each month, frequently bring together 250 people. He has time for community effort, having been recently president of the ministerial union, a member of the executive committee of the council of churches, and chaplain of the Tuberculosis hospital of Pittsburgh. The church cooperates with 21 other churches in the union summer services held in Carnegie hall. Dr. Milliron is the leading exponent of the Evangelical church in this city. This denomination has produced such men as Dr. Daniel Poling, Dr. Franklin Rall, Augustine Smith and Fred Ramsey, president of the International Y. M. C. A.

It is very interesting, in this day when so many are straining for large churches relegating pastoral work to a secondary place, to find Dr. Milliron devoting his large energies to a small and well cultivated spiritual garden, where the flowers and fruits are much in evidence.

* * *

Another Evening Triumvirate

Up on Squirrel hill, one of our best residence sections, the Third United Presbyterian, the Asbury Methodist and the Sixth Presbyterian have been holding union Sunday evening services for a year or more, and now in the Bellefield neighborhood, near the civic center, three more churches are combining for evening worship. They are the Bellefield Presbyterian, Dr. Robert McGowan, pastor, the Grace Reformed, Dr. Karl A. Stein, pastor, and the First United Presbyterian, Dr. W. J. Reid, pastor. One prominent church not far away has abandoned the evening service entirely, the pastor holding an evening class, in the chapel, for the discussion of religious topics.

* * *

Two Campus Y. M. C. A.'s

On the campus of both Tech and Pitt the Christian associations have had something of a struggle, but both have come, through fine leadership, into happier days. This is an encouraging fact.

Mr. Rollin V. Davis was the first secretary at Tech when the Y was organized there ten years ago. No college secretary in Pennsylvania has stayed on one campus as long as he, and he is growing in strength and favor with each year. The Y is the agent of the various denominations. The weekly chapel service is also managed by the association. Students are assisted in making contacts with churches in the neighborhood, especially in the autumn. Special attention is given to foreign students, who are helped in many kindly ways. Social hours are planned for those interested and many are sent away to summer conferences. A casual visitor is impressed by the respect and high standing which the Y holds, now, at Tech. Mr. Davis secures the hearty cooperation of students and faculty in the various activities of the association. Those of us who knew the situation ten years ago are delighted with the present flourishing work.

At the University of Pittsburgh a new secretary, Mr. W. W. Mendenhall, arrived on Sept. 1 last. He had been traveling secretary in Indiana for ten years and had done graduate work at the University of Chicago. He comes of Quaker

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stock and possesses a winning personality. He has some broad ideas about the Y on the modern campus. He is trying to make the Christian influence prevail upon the students; character building is his objective. He works with groups interested in the same things. Pitt is so large that this seems necessary. He begins with the faculty (and some of us consider this fundamental). A faculty forum has been organized this year which considers "Current Trends in Religion and Science." Social problems are also discussed. The attendance has been quite remarkable. Members of the faculty also have discussion groups so that thousands of students are definitely reached. It is a big program and it is working.

Fraternity discussion groups are also arranged, particularly prior to Easter, when prominent ministers join with faculty members in leading clear-cut discussions on religion. Topics are chosen by the fraternities themselves. Instead of sending delegates to conferences, influential men are brought to the campus where a local conference is set up, which many more attend. "Modern Economics and Social Problems" is the theme usually chosen for such a gathering. The Pitt Y also tries to integrate the churches and the campus.

In both Tech and Pitt the Y work is decidedly on the up-grade. Again, leadership of a high order is vindicated.

JOHN RAY EWERS.

Bishop McConnell to Be Honored On His Return from India

When Bishop Francis J. McConnell returns from India, where he delivered the Barrows lectures, his first public address will be at a dinner given in his honor by the Federal council, of which he is president. The dinner will be held on the evening of April 13 at the Commodore hotel, New York city. In his address Bishop McConnell will interpret the present situation in India and its bearing upon the Christian movement. The bishop sailed for India last October, accompanied by his wife and daughter.

Dr. Luccock Joins World Tomorrow Staff

Prof. Halford E. Luccock, of Yale divinity school, has joined the staff of the World Tomorrow, as a contributing editor. Kirby Page, editor of the publication, in introducing Dr. Luccock to its readers, said of him: "His social passion, spiritual insight, and sparkling literary style have made him an outstanding figure in the religious life of America."

Basil Mathews To Teach Missions at Boston U.

Basil Mathews, until recently one of the secretaries of the World Y. M. C. A. and now attached to the staff of John R. Mott, of the International missionary council, has accepted an invitation from Boston university to become its professor of missions, which post is to require but four months' residence in this country each year. Dr. Mathews delivered a series of lectures in Boston a few weeks ago, but has now returned to England.

May Investigate Movie Industry

Senate Resolution, Introduced by Senator Dill, Calls for Sweeping Study of Situation

(*See editorial on page* 395)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 9.—On the next to the last day of the 71st congress Senator C. C. Dill, of Washington, introduced a resolution calling on congress to conduct a searching investigation of the whole moving picture industry. The resolution has been referred to the committee on interstate commerce, of which Senator James Couzens, of Michigan, is chairman. If favorably reported by that body, and adopted by the senate in its next session, it is widely predicted that a veritable earthquake in the picture industry will result.

The text of the Dill resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved, that a special select committee of five senators, to be appointed by the president of the senate, three from the majority political party, and two from the minority political party, is authorized and directed to conduct an investigation of the motion-picture industry (hereinafter referred to as the industry), with particular regard to the activities of Will H. Hays and the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (Incorporated), (hereinafter referred to as the said parties), with a view to determining:

"(a) The relations of the said parties with public welfare agencies, churches, women's clubs, educational institutions (especially the Harvard graduate school of business administration), the department of commerce, and the press, for the purpose, among other things, of disseminating industry propaganda of questionable factual accuracy; together with the explanation for the failure of the department of commerce to disclose the true financial condition of the industry in its annual trade survey thereof.

"(b) The relations of the said parties with bankers, brokers, and others for the purpose of selling industry securities totaling many millions of dollars, and ultimately entailing great loss to the purchasers thereof.

"(c) The relations of the said parties (1) with the censorship boards of the several states, and (2) with national and state political organizations, particularly in so far as the said parties seek to influence the election to public office of candidates sympathetic to the industry and opposed to state or federal regulation thereof.

"(d) The explanation for the immunity of the said parties since 1922 from effective prosecution by the department of justice for violating the antitrust laws, notwithstanding the unlawful character of the business activities of the said parties, and particularly as to whether such immunity has any relation to the fact that

the successful negotiations by the industry for the services of Will H. Hays and George Akerson took place while the former was postmaster general and the latter secretary to the President of the United States.

"(e) The relations of the said parties (1) with the state department and the department of commerce in connection with the settlement of acute problems of the industry in several foreign countries, and (2) with the League of Nations, and the several committees thereof officially interested in the industry, including the International educational cinematographic institute of the League of Nations at Rome, in which a representative of the said parties is a prominent member.

"(f) The explanation for the policy pursued by the said parties in the employment in the industry of persons formerly affiliated with the state department or the department of commerce, and the financial interest, if any, of Honorable Julius Klein, assistant secretary of commerce, with any company in the industry.

"(g) The participation of the said parties or other members of the industry in the patent pool agreement between the leading American and German electrical companies entered into at Paris, France, in June and July, 1930, whereby the world trade in audible film apparatus and theater equipment was apportioned among the major companies represented, together with the activities of representatives of the state department and department of commerce in accelerating such agreement and in informing the President of the United States of the agreement and the loss suffered by nonparticipating companies of the industry as a result of the agreement.

"(h) The relations, if any, of the said parties with the federal trade commission and the department of justice in connection with the failure of the department to vigorously prosecute the said parties for violating the federal antitrust laws.

"(i) The probable effect on the unlawful activities of the four members of the industry prosecuted in 1928 by the government under the antitrust laws, in the event of decrees in favor of the United States in those cases.

"(j) The activities of the copyright protection bureau, operated under direction of the said parties, in so far as the bureau exacts large sums of money from independent exhibitors under color of the penalty clause of the federal copyright laws.

"The committee shall report to the senate, as soon as practicable, the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations, if any, for legislation requesting the attorney general to institute proceedings against the members of the industry presumably guilty of unfair or unlawful trade practices or combinations.

"For the purposes of this resolution such committee or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is authorized to hold hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions and recesses of the senate in the 72nd and succeeding congresses until the final report is submitted, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony and make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed $25,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman."

Members of the senate interstate commerce committee, who must pass on the Dill resolution, are James Couzens, Michigan; James E. Watson, Indiana; Simeon D. Fess, Ohio; R. B. Howell, Nebraska; Guy D. Goff, West Virginia; W. B. Pine, Oklahoma; Jesse H. Metcalf, Rhode Island; Otis F. Glenn, Illinois; S. W. Brookhart, Iowa; H. F. Kean, New Jersey; Daniel O. Hastings, Delaware; E. D. Smith, South Carolina; Key Pittman, Nevada; C. C. Dill, Washington; B. K. Wheeler, Montana; Harry B. Hawes, Missouri; Robert F. Wagner, New York; M. F. Tydings, Maryland, and A. W. Barkley, Kentucky.

Dr. Ozora Davis Dies

President Emeritus of Chicago Theological Seminary Had Long Been Ill

Dr. Ozora S. Davis, president-emeritus of Chicago theological seminary, died March 15 on a train which was bringing him home to Chicago, with Mrs. Davis, after several weeks spent in California in search of health. His physician had advised him to leave his work at the seminary for a rest.

Dr. Davis had a life career as interesting as it was successful. He was born in Vermont and spent much of his youth in the east. He early became ambitious for an education and earned his first money for that purpose selling papers; through his knowledge of telegraphy, learned at the railway station where his father was a baggageman, he paid his way through Dartmouth college, where he received his A. B. degree in 1889. He went from Dartmouth to Hartford seminary, where he was graduated in 1894. At Hartford he won a traveling fellowship and two years after graduation won his Ph. D. degree in Leipzig university.

Dr. Davis was ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1896. Between the years 1896 and 1908 he held pastorates at First church, Springfield, Vt., Central church, Newtonville, Mass., and South church, New Britain, Conn. In 1909 he accepted the post of president of Chicago seminary; in 1929 he was forced to resign because of ill health—he resigned at the same time from the moderatorship of his church—and since then he has been president emeritus and has taught in the department of practical theology; he was working also on a life of the late Victor F. Lawson.

Many books had come from the pen of Dr. Davis, among them "Evangelistic Preaching," "Preaching the Social Gospel," "Principles of Preaching," "Creden-

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Churches to Aid Courts

All Faiths Unite in Rochester to Cooperate in Dealing with Delinquents

ROCHESTER, N. Y., March 8.—A significant meeting was held in the chamber of commerce here yesterday. At this meeting were Catholic priests and laymen, Jewish rabbis and laymen, Protestant ministers and laymen, also the director of public safety, the chief of police, judges from the various courts, probation officers, representatives of the various local city, county and state corrective and penal institutions and Salvation army captains.

The church sponsored this meeting. It was for the purpose of ascertaining how the church and synagogue or the religious forces of the city and county could cooperate with the courts and other agencies in the matter of dealing with the delinquent and criminal.

The result was the formation of a committee of 18 called "The Interreligious Court Committee." This large committee has been subdivided into six committees, each having as a member a representative of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths. Rev. Frederick E. Reissig, Emmanual Lutheran church, is chairman of the large committee and also of the supervisory committee, the two additional members of which are Rev. Walter A. Foery of St. Michael's Catholic church and Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Berith Kodesh temple. The other five committees are the pre-court case committee, the city court, the juvenile court, the county court, adult division, and the parole officers committee.

Each of these committees will meet monthly with their respective courts or groups to advise and confer. The church committees will also act as a bridge between the courts and the church and synagogue.

Those in the field of dealing with the delinquent and criminal heartily welcome this step and offer on the part of the religious forces to cooperate and feel that much can be accomplished by this method.

F. E. REISSIG.

New Teacher of Old Testament For Drew Seminary

Rev. John Paterson, of Dunbarton, Scotland, has accepted the invitation to become a professor of Old Testament exegesis and Hebrew in Drew seminary. Dr. Paterson taught at Drew during the first semester of the present school year, and during that time won the high esteem of students and faculty.

Boston Ripe for Political Change

John Dewey Cheered in Demand for New Party—Sensational Reading Leads to Murder

(*Correspondence from New England*)

BOSTON, March 14.—"Who said that there is no interest in a possible third party?" exclaimed Miss Zara Dupont, as she called to order a supper conference of over 200 prominent men and women in Boston, March 5. It was called by the Massachusetts branch of the League for independent political action. The response surprised its sponsors. Mr. Howard Y. Williams, national executive secretary, explained the motives and purposes of the league. He said that in the United States in the last two decades the share of wage-workers in the total income has decreased from 64 to 56 per cent, while incomes of a million dollars or more have increased from 67 to over 500. Ours may be the best nation in the world for the man with a job; but it is the worst for the man without. There is need of a party to guarantee the rights of both workers and farmers, and to use the great influence, which Einstein says America has, to insure the world against war. The league does not seek to be such a party, but to act as a coordinating and educational agency.

The most conservative note was struck by Robert C. Fechner, of the International association of machinists, who said that the fate of the Knights of Labor had warned the American federation of labor to stand aloof from politics.

An ovation was given to Prof. John Dewey, of Columbia university, when he rose to speak. Two years ago, he said, with the new administration business took charge and guaranteed prosperity. There is no need to point to the contrast in the situation today. The issue is this: Shall the agencies of government be used for the people or for the few? In previous depressions, voters have put "the outs" in office and hailed panaceas. The fact that neither of these remedies is proposed today shows that the public is thinking. A new party must grow slowly: it took labor 40 years to rise to power in England. What are the problems? Unemployment is only a phase of the general question of a system of employment which will assure well-being. A national income of $90,000,000,000 is enough for all, if justly distributed. What can be done? The power of taxation must be used to recover the unearned value of land, and so forth. There must be government ownership of public utilities which tend to become monopolies. Government must recover control of money and credit. Civil liberty must be restored against present infringements. And finally, America must take the leadership in foreign relations, modifying tariffs which were a declaration of war against the world and have largely contributed to the worldwide depression of

business. We could use our economic power to save the world and establish peace.

* * *

A Victim of Sensational Reading

The daily press has had just the sort of murder case which it delights to exploit —a rich widow in Haverhill beaten with a hammer, resulting in her death. A young boy apparently implicated by his own admissions, one highly regarded by his mates in high school and church organizations, an orphan but living with an aunt and looked after by older people in church and school, expecting to enter college next year. The refusal even yet of members of the Y. P. S. C. E. to believe him guilty reveals a lovable spirit of loyalty, and shows how far "breaking and entering," not to say murder, must be from the minds of these young people.

The boy himself presents a perplexing case. He shows no sign of remorse or fear; eats and sleeps, seems to enjoy the publicity and frequent pictures. Has he no moral sense? Certainly this is not the type of consciousness which our faithful school teachers and church workers are striving to develop! But the writers of the sensational press and of popular detective stories might well contemplate the result of their craft. This is precisely the type of mind which they exploit or imagine —one which sees in life only thrills, unmoral if not immoral, callous to consequences either spiritual or legal.

"As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." If the adolescent are fed up on such stuff, what can we expect? The best efforts of teachers and pastors are forgotten in "the chambers of imagery." Young Noble was devouring mystery tales in the public library. The first thing that connected him with the case was the exclamation: "Gee! that would make a great detective story!" The sooner the churches recognize the fact that they must adjust their methods to an environment of paganism worse than that of ancient times, paganism without a god, the more they may snatch as brands from the burning.

* * *

The "Bay State Church Bulletin"

This is the name to which the Massachusetts federation of churches has changed the cryptic former title of its periodical, "Facts and Factors." It is now a monthly, mailed to all pastors and Sunday school superintendents in the state. But its interests are not confined to state lines. The March number reports the third annual meeting of the New England town and country church commission, Jan. 30; and announces the Ocean Park conference to be held June 22-26, for rural ministers and workers. Rev. J. A. McCelland of New Bedford, chairman of the committee on evangelism, in an appeal, says: "The worst unemployment situation today is not in industry, but in the church. There are men and women, members for years, who have never spoken to any one about relationship to Jesus Christ." The Bulletin announces the first larger parish in Massachusetts, consisting of East and North Rochester Grove chapel, Lakeville, and Taunton-Precinct Congregational churches. It will also have a working relationship with the Central church of Middleboro. The plan was largely worked out by Rev. A. V. Bliss, secretary of the Congregational conference, who came from a similar position in Maine. Mrs. Hilda L. Ives, rural secretary of the federation, expects to work out, on a similar basis, interdenominational parishes.

EDWARD TALLMADGE ROOT.

Dr. Vollenweider Goes to Buffalo Church Council

Rev. John A. Vollenweider, former associate pastor of Madison Avenue Methodist church, New York, is now executive secretary of the council of churches of Buffalo, N. Y., succeeding there Rev. Don D. Tullis, who went to the executive secretaryship of the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

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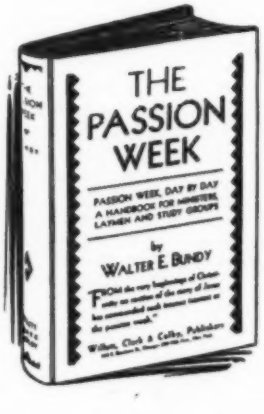
Here is what *Charles Clayton Morrison* says of Walter E. Bundy's "The Passion Week" as he commends it to his fellow-ministers in the April issue of The Christian Century Pulpit:



"I hope it is not too late to get this book into the hands of ministers in time for use during their pre-Easter services. Dr. Bundy is at once a scholar and a teacher of non-technical students of the New Testament. As professor of the English Bible in DePauw, he has developed a most effective method of interpreting the Christian faith to college students. His book on the passion week is accurate and painstaking but not over-burdened with meticulous detail. In its chapters he presents a critical study of the movements, deeds and words of Jesus during the last dramatic week of his life, using Mark's account as the basis, with a penetrating analysis of the parallels in the other gospels.

"The author's purpose is primarily to disclose the meaning of the week's events to the mind of Jesus himself, whom he treats as a human religious subject rather than as an object of worship. I do not follow those who make an 'either-or' distinction between the religion *of* Jesus and the religion *about* Jesus, for I find that as I enter more and more understandingly into Jesus' own experience as a religious subject the more irresistible is my impulse to make him an object of worship. As Dr. Bundy reconstructs and interprets the moral experience of Jesus on the ascent to the cross the reader will be moved to say with Thomas, My Lord and my God!"

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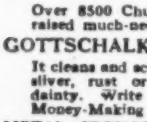

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Use Church as Boom Town Jail

Texas Rangers Chain Undesirable Characters to Walls of Baptist Church —Hopi Priest Dies

(Correspondence from the Southwest)

WACO, March 12.—However much the southwest has settled down into sobriety and peaceful pursuits, something of the old spirit of border ruffianism clings to sporadic outbreaks of lawlessness. With the opening of the new oil fields in east Texas, among the most important ever discovered in America, the law-breakers became so numerous recently that state rangers were called into action. When the rangers began to round up the bad men, it was found that the only building in the little town of Kilgore for confining them was the Baptist church. Into the Baptist church, therefore, the officers herded the desperate characters, over 300 of them, and secured them by means of chains about their necks, fastened to the walls of the building. Doubtless this was the first time some of them had ever been in church. Is it possible that they will thus get the habit of going to church?

* * *

Communists Abducted

The state rangers were called into action by Gov. Ross Sterling the week after in an effort to apprehend the abductors of two communists of Dallas. The two men were enroute to the courthouse with their lawyer, George Clifton Edwards, when all three were kidnaped. The communists were flogged and spirited away, while the lawyer was released at the edge of town. Up to this writing the injured men have not been found, and a reporter on a Dallas newspaper has refused to testify as to what he knew, even at the cost of going to jail. Public sentiment, while strongly adverse to communism, is pronounced in its condemnation of the summary illegal action which has disgraced a city and state.

* * *

Herrin Evangelist in Texas

Speaking of lawlessness reminds me that J. Howard Williams, who cleaned up Herrin, Illinois, five years ago, is here in tranquil Waco conducting a revival in Trinity Presbyterian church. He still ranks himself as a layman, though he preaches quite as well as if he were ordained. When he left Herrin the city posted this sign: "Welcome to Herrin. God Is In—the Devil Is Out." We who reside in a religious and educational center which has for its second name, "The City with a Soul," would like to be able to hang out a similar sign.

* * *

Hopi Priest Carries Ritual Secrets to the Grave

From Phoenix, Ariz., comes news of the death of Harry Shu-Pel, high priest of the Hopi tribe, who carried with him the secrets of the ritual of the snake dance. The snake has always been sacred among the Pueblos of the southwest, but the cult of the rattlesnake has died out of all the tribes except the Hopis, who have kept the annual ceremony in all its weird ways every year about the 20th of August. A large number of snakes are captured and brought to the ceremonial cave. Here the snake priest constructs a wonderfully complicated and artistic sand altar on the floor of the kiva, where all the snakes are washed and cleansed with great solemnity. Their fangs are not extracted. One exercise is to carry the snake in the mouth, and when the mouth opens the snake hangs clear to the feet of the Indian, hooked to his cheek by its recurving fang. But the details of the 8-day ceremonial are too extended for full description here; nor shall I attempt to interpret its primitive religious significance. One of the strangest things about this entire procedure is that the Indians are immune to the poison of the snakes.

* * *

Resigns After Quarter-Century Pastorate

After 25 years in the pastorate of the First Presbyterian church, Houston, Dr. William States Jacob has resigned. He gives out his conviction that 25 years is long enough for any pastor to remain in one church. Dr. Jacob's work in Houston has been monumental and far wider in its influence than his local parish.

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. A. L. Aulick, for 15 years pastor of the University Baptist church, Austin, goes to Trinity church, Oklahoma City. . . . The new First Baptist church, Mexia, costing $70,000, was opened last week. . . . Methodists mourn the passing of Dr. Philip Cone Fletcher, presiding elder of the San Antonio district. . . . Baptists are saddened by the sudden death of Dr. Forrest Smith, pastor of Broadway Baptist church and head of several denominational boards. . . . The general missionary council of the Southern Methodist church in New Orleans, Feb. 24-26, brought together the outstanding leaders of that church in what must have been a most inspiring conference. . . . Concerning the visitation evangelism campaign conducted recently in Houston, Dr. Harry G. Knowles, pastor of the First Christian church of that city, reports that his own church received 232 new members and all other cooperating churches a like proportion.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Death of Mrs. Felicia Clark, Missionary and Writer

Mrs. Felicia Buttz Clark, daughter of the late Pres. Henry A. Buttz, of Drew seminary, and widow of the late Nathaniel W. Clark, missionary of the Methodist church in Germany and Italy, died in Pasadena, Cal., Feb. 23. In the 80's of last century, Dr. and Mrs. Clark served together in parishes of the Philadelphia and Newark conferences. In 1885 Dr. Clark was appointed a professor in Martin Mission institute, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Germany, and in 1893 was called to Rome as president of the Methodist seminary, and later as presiding elder of the

Mediterranean district. He died 13 years ago. Mrs. Clark had been known not only for her missionary achievements but also as a writer of short stories and serials, many of them based on her more than 25 years of missionary service.

Large Gift for Ohio Church Council

W. H. Hoover, business man of North Canton, O., has pledged $50,000 toward a proposed endowment for the Ohio council of churches.

INDIA CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page* 416)

Travancore last year (where most of the Syrian Christians live) took a keen interest in the affairs of the Syrian church. As the result of his intervention an arbitration conference has been arranged with the patriarch and bishops of both parties. The viceroy is also appointing two assessors to this conference. These are reported to be Bishop Gore, who is now on a visit to India, and the Anglican metropolitan of India.

Great hopes center round this conference that it will help in healing the sad division in the Jacobite Syrian church. If this is accomplished there are many indications that the evangelical section of the Syrian church will reunite with the old Syrian church. The patriarch is arriving in India on Feb. 22 for this arbitration conference which directly affects over 300,000 Indian Christians and indirectly, but vitally, 200,000 more Christians in the same area. The service rendered by Lord Irvin in bringing about peace in the Syrian church of South India will long be remembered in the history of the Christian movement in this land.

P. O. PHILIP.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Enduring Quest, a Search for a Philosophy of Life, by H. A. Overstreet. Norton, $3.00.

With the Door Open, by J. Anker Larsen. Macmillan, $1.50.

The Home and Christian Living, by Percy R. and Myrtle H. Hayward. Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, $.75.

The Lambeth Conference, 1930, Encyclical Letter and Resolutions. Macmillan, $.20.

Builders of Delusion, a Tour among our Best Minds, by Henshaw Ward. Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50.

Hands Around the World, by Archer Wallace. Smith, $1.00.

Ioway to Iowa, the Genesis of a Corn and Bible Commonwealth, by Irving Berdine Richman. State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, $4.00.

Men of Conviction, by Henry Bradford Washburn. Scribners, $2.50.

The Flight from Chaos, by Arnold Lunn. Lincoln MacVeagh, $3.50.

The Conflicts of the Early Church, by W. D. Niven. Richard R. Smith, $2.00.

Pilate's Three Questions, by J. D. Jones. Smith.

Great Days of the Last Week, by B. H. Bruner. Smith, $2.00.

Facing North, by O. C. Herbrecht. Smith, $1.50.

Jesus As a Friend, by George Stewart. Smith, $1.50.

What Can Students Believe? edited by Elmore McNeill McKee. Smith, $1.60.

The Minister's Week-Day Challenge, by Edwin H. Byington. Smith, $2.00.

World Revolution and Religion, by Paul Hutchinson. Abingdon, $2.00.

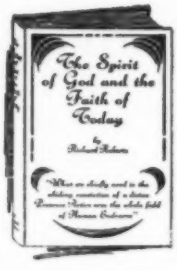
Group Discussion in Religious Education, by Harrison Sacket Elliott. Association Press.

International Government, by Edmund C. Mower. D. C. Heath & Co., $4.00.

The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914, by Harold Underwood Faulkner. Macmillan, $4.00.

The X Y Z of Communism, by Ethan T. Colton. Macmillan, $3.00.

For Lent and Easter



The Spirit of God and the Faith of Today

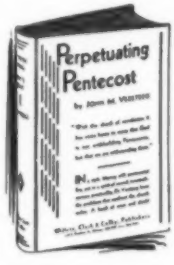
RICHARD ROBERTS

Dr. Roberts is convinced that we are still to see a revival of emphasis on that article in the creed, which says "I believe in the Holy Ghost." One of his reasons is that it is the Spirit of God in today's life which vitalizes all the great moral and social values of personal Christian faith.

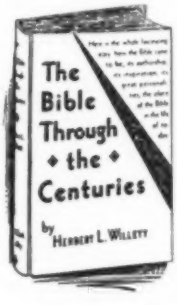
"This book is written in a mood of devout and clear-eyed thought," says the Northwestern Christian Advocate. ($2.00)

Perpetuating Pentecost

J. M. VERSTEEG



This is not a book simply for Pentecostal celebration seasons. It is especially timely at the Lenten season. It is a call to the church to a new spiritual passion and to sincerity in its appeal and life. "Here is a glimpse into the heart of transforming religious experience," says the Christian Advocate (New York), and it commends the "intellectural vigor, emotional sincerity, and moral passion" of the book. ($2.00)



The Bible through the Centuries

HERBERT L. WILLETT

Says the Union Seminary Review: "We consider this one of the most important of the newer books on the Bible. It is written by one of the outstanding liberal Bible scholars of our country who not only knows all the modern thought and conclusions concerning the Bible, but knows also how to express these views in limpid, fluent English. It is a delightful book to read, and it surveys in a popular way the entire field of biblical research." ($2.50)

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THE DAILY ALTAR

(Willett-Morrison)

The persistent popularity of this little book indicates that we are living in an age not entirely materialistic. Spiritually minded ministers have taken upon themselves the responsibility of putting it into the hands of their church members. A page of inspiring devotional reading for each day of the year. (Cloth, $1.00. Leather, $2.50. Write for special rates on the book for church distribution.)

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(Clark-Gillespie)

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MAGNIFICENT OBSESSION

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Still Best Sellers

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